Anna Louise Strong Writes From Moscow

NEW MASSES

FIFTEEN CENTS

January 14, 1941

THE BRITAIN WE WANT TO AID

The People's Convention in London

THE STUDENTS SAY "TWADDLE"

by Milton Meltzer and Ralph Forrest

MORE ON HEMINGWAY *by Isidor Schneider*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Between Ourselves

READERS of *NM* who in the past year have enjoyed preview glimpses into the Dean of Canterbury's notable *The Soviet Power* will welcome the news that International Publishers is bringing forth a paper-covered edition at the low price of 35 cents. Corliss Lamont described *The Soviet Power* in *NM's* issue of December 10 as *must* reading for all Americans. Now happily it is to be sold at a price which brings it within the pocketbook range of hundreds of thousands.

Hewlett Johnson is the religious leader, former editor and scientist who visited the socialist world and returned with a new vision of practical morality and ethics. *The Soviet Power* was called *The Soviet Sixth of the World* when it was published in England, where an edition of 50,000 copies sold despite abusive attacks upon the author. *NM* readers who have read Dean Johnson's contributions to this magazine will recall his fresh and interesting approach. He is an ardent advocate of cooperation between the British and Soviet peoples; it is unquestionably his hope that the American edition will aid the cause of similar cooperation between the American people and the Soviet Union.

Here, by the way, are two comments on *The Soviet Power*. Dr. Harry F. Ward says: "I am familiar with all the books on the Soviet Union of any consequence that have come out in this country, and with those of importance that have appeared in England, and it is my judgment that this book by Dean Johnson is the most successful in catching and conveying the spirit of the people of the Soviet Union, and is the most useful at the present time for the average American reader." Theodore Dreiser writes: "No work on Russia has impressed me as much as this."

Incidentally an unwitting contributor to *NM* has roused quite a little comment and more than a little praise for his trenchant analysis of American imperialism's world viewpoint. We mean Dr. Virgil Jordan, president of the National Industrial Conference Board, excerpts from whose speech before the Investment Bankers Association *NM* published two weeks ago. Writes J. F. R. from Buffalo: "I have always said that Wall Street studies Marxism. Or would it be more correct to say that Marxists study Wall Street? Which comes first, Dr. Jordan or the egg? At any rate, the good Doc laid an egg in that Hollywood, Fla., speech. It is the most powerful indictment of the war party that I have seen. Coming from such a source, it has an overwhelming effect upon doubting Thomases. Congratulations, *NM*, for discovering the prize capitalist boner of 1940!"

Another contribution which has created more than a ripple is Ralph Warner's "Lockout on the Air Waves," published in the same issue. S. D. and his entire family wrote from Staten Island, N. Y.: "Congratulations on your fine article on the ASCAP situation. It's the best we have read anywhere." Among those who also liked that piece are the members of the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers. Eight thousand copies of that *NM* issue were distributed to newspapers, radio stations, advertising agencies, and members by the Society.

By popular demand a new edition of "Interpretation, Please!" is to be presented at Webster Hall on Thursday evening, January 23. The topic is "Literature and Social Issues." Five authors will sit on the platform that evening prepared to face a barrage of questions from the audience. They are William Blake, Joshua Kunitz, Alvah Bessie, Albert Maltz, and Isidor Schneider. The interlocutor will be Sender Garlin, columnist for the *Daily Worker*. Tickets are 50 cents and may be purchased at *NM's* office, 461 Fourth Avenue, the Workers Book Shop, 50 E. 13th Street, and Bookfair, 133 W. 44th Street. If you buy your admission in advance, you will be rewarded with a seat in the reserved section.

When the staff and contributors of *NM* are not writing they are teaching. The Workers School, 50 E. 13th Street, announces that A. B. Magil, Joseph Starobin, and Simon W. Gerson are among the instructors and lecturers for its coming term, which opens on January 14. Other contributors who will be heard at the school are Oakley Johnson, Francis Franklin, Harry Raymond, and Elizabeth Lawson. Bruce Minton goes to Boston this Friday, January 10, where he is speaking under the auspices of the *NM* in the first of four Friday evening forums of the Progressive Bookshop. The forum is to be held at Ritz Plaza, 218 Huntington Avenue, and admission is 35 cents. Mr. Minton's topic will be "In Search of an American Foreign Policy." General Victor A. Yakhontoff will speak on "The Far East" for the Bronx Community Forum on the same evening, Friday, January 10, at the Senate Paradise, 2413 Grand Concourse, New York.

On another page of this issue is James Morison's enthusiastic review of *No for an Answer*, Marc Blitzstein's new opera. Next Sunday's performance at Mecca Temple will be a benefit for the International Labor Defense, which is so busily engaged in defending the Bill of Rights in all parts of the nation. Mr. Blitzstein's music-drama tells the story of a fascist assault on a workers' club. On Sunday evening a flesh-and-blood political prisoner, Alan Shaw, who was recently sentenced to ten years in prison by the state of Oklahoma for being a member of the Communist Party, will speak. You will serve two good causes by attending this performance—your own good enjoyment of a fine work of theater art, and the ILD, which plans to use the entire profits for the defense of civil liberties in Oklahoma.

A special treat is in store for members of *NM's* Readers League this Friday evening, when Joseph North, editor-in-chief of *NM*, will speak at Steinway Hall on the all-important subject of "Western Hemisphere Defense." This is Mr. North's first public lecture since his return from Mexico where he obtained firsthand information about the shifting currents of Latin American politics, and his report is therefore eagerly awaited.

Another group of *NM* supporters, the Followers of the Trail, a workers' cooperative camp which contributes to *NM's* sustaining fund throughout the year, is holding its 18th annual frolic and dance on Saturday evening, January 11, at Palm Gardens, [illegible] Street and 8th Avenue, New York City.

Who's Who

FRANK J. WALLACE is an economist and writer. . . . Anna Louise Strong is the author of *I Change Worlds, China's Millions, One-Fifth of Mankind,* and *My Native Land.* . . . Milton Meltzer has written numerous articles and reviews for *NM.* . . . Ralph Forrest is student editor of *The Review.* . . . Isidor Schneider was formerly literary editor of *NM* and is the author of *From the Kingdom of Necessity.* . . . Wellington Roe is a veteran of the AEF. He is author of *The Tree Falls South, Begin No Day,* a novel about industrial England, and others. He has frequently contributed to *NM.* . . . James Morison is a free-lance labor journalist. . . . Joy Davidman's poetry and reviews have often appeared in *NM* and in other magazines.

THIS WEEK

NEW MASSES, VOL. XXXVIII, NO. 4

January 14, 1941

The Message to Congress *An editorial* 3
The Britain We Want to Aid 4
Plowing Under the Consumer's Dollar *by Frank J. Wallace* 6
Moscow Builds *by Anna Louise Strong* 8
The Students Say "Twaddle" *by Milton Meltzer and Ralph Forrest* 10
P. S. on Hemingway *by Isidor Schneider* 12
The Vigilantes March *by Wellington Roe* 15
Gropper's Cartoon 16
Editorial Comment 19

REVIEW AND COMMENT

Who Killed the Federal Theater? *by Alvah Bessie* . . 22
US Observer *by Isidor Schneider* 24
Anti-Semitism *by James Morison* 26

SIGHTS AND SOUNDS

"No for an Answer" *by James Morison* 28
"Flight to the West" *by Alvah Bessie* 29
The Drapers *by A. B. M.* 29
Movie History *by Daniel Todd* 30
Art work by Michaels, Clinton, Rodney.

Two weeks' notice is required for change of address. Notification sent to NEW MASSES rather than to the post office will give the best results.

Published weekly by WEEKLY MASSES CO., INC., at 461 Fourth Ave., New York City. Copyright 1940, WEEKLY MASSES CO., INC. Reg. U. S. Patent Office. Drawings and text may not be reprinted without permission. Entered as second-class matter, June 24, 1926, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Single copies 15 cents. Subscriptions $5.00 a year in U. S. and Colonies and Mexico. Six months $2.75; three months $1.50; Foreign $6.00 a year; six months $3.25; three months $1.75. In Canada, $5.50 a year, $3.00 for six months. Subscribers are notified that no change in address can be effected in less than two weeks. NEW MASSES welcomes the work of new writers and artists. Manuscripts and drawings must be accompanied by stamped, addressed envelopes. NEW MASSES does not pay for contributions.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW MASSES

VOLUME XXXVIII JANUARY 14, 1941 NUMBER 4

The Message to Congress

Mr. Roosevelt drops the "aid short of war." An emotional exhortation in the tradition of Woodrow Wilson. The real alternative for the American people. An editorial.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S message to the 77th Congress was not a report on the state of the union. It was an emotional exhortation designed to prepare public opinion for a fundamental change in the state of the union. In spirit and by innuendo the message was a commitment to war.

It is important that all of us think hard about the meaning of the President's words. They are calculated to create a certain mood, to conceal behind phrases that appeal to the best in human beings the ugly realities, the crass tooth-and-claw struggle for profits and empire that are the true motivation of his policy. For many people it may be difficult to see behind the term "national defense" the actuality which Dr. Virgil Jordan, president of the National Industrial Conference Board, disclosed in a recent speech before the Investment Bankers Association: "Whatever the outcome of the war, America has embarked upon a career of imperialism, both in world affairs and in every other aspect of her life." It is difficult to see this truth, the operations of the banking and industrial monopolies beneath the slogans of democracy —but all of us *must* see it for the future of millions depends on it.

LIKE THE FIRESIDE CHAT

The President's message is a further development of the program outlined in his fireside chat of December 29, though his argument is much more adroit. What is new is the abandonment of all "short-of-war" talk, and an attempt to overcome the opposition of large sections of the American people to a repetition of 1917 by offering them a vague, idealistic series of war aims centering about the new world that is to emerge when this conflict is over. The omission of all "short-of-war" qualifications is accompanied by a number of hints at direct American military participation. These hints appear in reverse, like the negative of a photographic plate, the blame for such participation being placed on "the dictators": "When the dictators—if the dictators—are ready to make war upon us, they will not wait for an act of war on our part." Senator Burton Wheeler's comment was very much to the point: "It is too bad this speech was not made before election. It was intended to frighten the American people to a point that they would surrender their liberties and establish a wartime dictatorship."

President Roosevelt seeks to justify his efforts by saying that "In the recent national election there was no substantial difference between the two great parties" in regard to foreign policy—an unwitting admission of the tweedledum-tweedledee choice given the electorate. But the fact is that both he and Willkie found it necessary to give repeated pledges that they would do everything in their power to preserve America's peace. There was not the vestige of such a pledge in Roosevelt's message to Congress.

What he offered the people were bigger armaments, more taxes, and new steps to war. And he asked them to believe what he himself doesn't believe; that more guns would also mean more butter—"equality of opportunity for youth and for others," "jobs for those who can work," "security for those who need it"; that more power for Messrs. Knudsen and Stettinius would mean "the ending of special privilege for the few," "the preservation of civil liberties for all." Reality, of course, gives the lie to these promises. The President knows that when he sets out to change "a whole nation from a basis of peacetime production of implements of peace to a basis of wartime production of implements of war," he is sacrificing the peacetime needs of the people, increasing the privileges of the few and the insecurity of the many. He knows, too, the ripening fruit of his own concern about civil liberties; the Browder case, the Oklahoma criminal syndicalism cases, the prosecution of trade unions under the anti-trust laws, the alien registration act, and other anti-democratic measures, passed and pending.

The President also asked the people to believe that out of this unjust war can come a just peace. In fact, he attempted to do two contradictory things: to idealize the last imperialist war and its iniquitous Versailles peace—a war which the majority of Americans view with disillusioned eyes—and at the same time to link that war with the present imperialist conflict about which he seeks to create new illusions. The world of truth and freedom which he promised would emerge out of the fraud and servitude of this war, has a familiar look. In fact, haven't we met before? On Nov. 11, 1918, another President of the United States stood before another Congress and delivered his message.

> Armed imperialism such as the men conceived who were but yesterday the masters of Germany is at an end [said Woodrow Wilson], its ambitions engulfed in black disaster. Who will now seek to revive it? . . . The great nations which associated themselves to destroy it have now definitely united in the common purpose to set up such a peace as will satisfy the longing of the whole world for disinterested justice, embodied in settlements which are based upon something much better and much more lasting than the selfish competitive interests of powerful states.

Is it to repeat this monstrous deception, this treason to mankind that we are being asked to sacrifice our liberties, perhaps our lives? Let us remember that war is a law of life of capitalism; when Roosevelt talks about the future, it may seem like sincere hope, but inevitably it must be hypocrisy.

The President's whole attempt to justify waging war many thousands of miles away rests on a fundamental lie. It is the lie which paints American imperialism as an innocent, seeking to do good deeds, and being threatened with attack by German fascism. The invasion scare, whatever the military feasibility of an invasion of the United States (it is interesting that in this message the President considerably modifies his previous fantastic alarums), is also based on this lie. Yes, German imperialism threatens the peace and security of the American people—but not German imperialism alone. It is the frantic struggle for loot and empire among German, Italian, British, and American imperialism that has already invaded every phase of our life, that is raiding living standards, bombarding the right to strike, and threatening to drag the American people into war under a full-fledged fascist regime. We Americans, as well as the people of Britain, Germany, Italy and all capitalist countries, must learn the great truth enunciated by Karl Liebknecht in the last war: *"Der Feind steht im eignen Lager"*—the main enemy is at home—in Washington and Wall Street.

The real fight against fascism at home and abroad requires people united to secure and defend the things they and their families need for everyday life, a people strong in its organizations and in its control over government. There is a real alternative to both a Nazi victory and collaboration with Britain for war; it is collaboration with China and the Soviet Union, with the peoples of Britain, Germany, Italy, France, and Latin America for peace and freedom throughout the world. That is the message Congress needs today. It can come only from the men and women of America's factories and farms, from those who hold the future in their arms and hearts.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE BRITAIN

An open letter to the People's

An example to the war-

WE WANT you to know that everyone here is doing some hard thinking about England. What's happening now? What's likely to happen this spring? There's not a serious man or woman in the United States who's not thinking about these questions. The newspapers and radio are full of stories about the devastating bombardments over London, Birmingham, Bristol, and other British centers. Out on the farms and in the villages, this may not be easy to comprehend. But in the big cities, people understand what it must mean to live with the sirens blaring, the anti-aircraft guns barking all night, a million people trying to sleep on the subway platforms, with no heating or plumbing—and then coming up out of the damp darkness to find the city burning, the horror of the smouldering ruins that once were factories, hospitals, homes.

The budget figures don't mean very much. But we can understand the 12½ percent tax on all purchases, tobacco, beer, clothing, books. We appreciate what it must mean to live on 28 cents worth of meat a week, on two ounces of tea, on the least of green vegetables and fruit. And then there were the figures for the number of people killed and wounded in November alone, some 14,795. It was not lost on any American father and mother that of all the casualties, 4,000 were women, and close to 1,000 were children under sixteen.

The head of the Trades Union Congress, Sir Walter Citrine, is one of the many Englishmen now touring our country. He hobnobs with William Green, of the American Federation of Labor, which doesn't recommend him to millions of American workers. But it did mean a great deal to every trade unionist when Sir Walter admitted—in fact boasted—in a speech on December 16, that British working men are putting in "seventy hours and more per week in the armament factories. Hygienic standards have declined. All of our factories are blacked out. All ventilators are closed, which keeps out air as well as light. At night, there is much danger; whenever a bomb bursts, the windows are shattered with terrific force and many are killed and injured by flying glass. . . ."

Particulars of this kind don't make us warm up to Citrine; in truth, it's hard to warm up to a Labor leader who carries a "sir" in front of his Christian name. But such admissions give us an inkling of the misery and suffering which this war has brought to the people of England, the bleak future which continuation of the war promises.

We don't know what your newspapers tell you about the American people, how they feel. Probably no more than our own press is telling us the whole story of how the British people feel. But you mustn't judge America from Mr. Roosevelt's speeches. There's much talk about England here, among people who do all the talking. Among the upper third, there are banquets and balls, "bundling for Britain" we call it. Many are the gold-plated words, the beating of drums for the sake of King George. But behind the scenes, the moneyed men of this country are quite cynical about Britain. A good part of them are ready to divide up the empire with Hitler; they are so fearful of the future of capitalism in central Europe that they will not be committed to the prospect of a long and exhaustive war. The greater part of the American ruling class wants England to keep fighting. But at the same time, they're cleaning British trade out of South America, they're pushing their way across the Pacific to India, they're driving a hard bargain for every gun and plane they send across. They make sure, as their year-end figures show, that this business of "aid to Britain" is big business for them. As one of their most conscientious servants, Dr. Virgil Jordan, of the National Industrial Conference Board puts it: "Even though, by our aid, England should emerge from this struggle without defeat, she will be so impoverished economically and so crippled in prestige that it is improbable she will be able to resume or maintain the dominant position in world affairs which she has occupied so long. At best, England will become a junior partner in a new Anglo-Saxon imperialism in which the economic resources, the military and naval strength of the United States will be the center of gravity. . . ."

As for the common man in America: he hates Hitler and everything that Hitler stands for, make no mistake about that. But he suspects that this war is being used by the American ruling class to undermine his living standards, break up his trade unions, blackout his liberties. Moreover, to speak frankly, the average American is deeply suspicious of the men who hold the reins of government in Britain today. Their refusal to protect the civilian population with deep air-raid shelters —that inspires only anger and disgust in this country. And for all the Cabinet changes and Mr. Churchill's fine language, the men who are running the war strike us as no more worthy of confidence than the men who brought on this war, the Chamberlain government. After all, Churchill has taken over the official chairmanship of the Tory party. That party still controls Parliament on the basis of an election held five years ago, which in terms of representing the people of England *today*, might have been held five centuries ago. And that Tory party: are not its MP's among England's wealthiest men, tied in with the highest finance, interlocked with the royalty, with hardly a man who works for an honest living among them? And when Lord Halifax was appointed ambassador, "the Holy Fox" as you call him, did not the Tammany boss of the Tories, David Margesson, step into no less than the ministry of war?

This is the same crowd which built up Hitler, handed him Austria and Czechoslovakia and thereby opened the gates of Paris. These were the same men who garrotted the Spanish republic. And that republic of the Spanish people was dear to millions of Americans: we gave millions of dollars for Spain and sent an expeditionary force, the Abraham Lincoln Battalion, to help them. No one will ever forgive and forget what the rulers of England did to Spain. Nor will Mr. Roosevelt here be forgiven either. And your Labor leaders, now in the Cabinet, how long it took them to give lip-service to the Spanish struggle! How quick they were to give up that struggle, and find excuses for the way it ended! Only a year ago, moreover, the British government, Labor leaders and all, were simply panting to get up a war against Soviet Russia. They have never yet explained what criminal intoxication led them to send all those guns and planes to the Finnish wasteland when, three months later, they were so badly needed in Britain itself. They are pious and right honorable fellows, all of them. They wanted so badly a pious and right honorable war against the Soviet working men and women. They were even quite ready to shake Herr Hitler's hand to get that war going.

And only a few days ago, Mr. Churchill made a speech to Italy. He said not a word of what fascism had done to the Italian people. He said nothing about overthrowing the *system of fascism* in Europe. He asked only that one man, Mussolini—"that he is a great man I do not deny"—be replaced by someone more likely to do business with Churchill and The City. Truly, the men who rule England today are the men who brought this war upon England, even as Hitler and Goering are the scourge of the German people. These are not the men who can possibly liberate Europe. They will never bring a permanent peace to the British Isles, much less to the rest of the world.

That is where your People's Convention

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WE WANT TO AID

Convention meeting in London.

torn world.

comes in. And it's like a breath of fresh air, it's like a lighthouse in the gloom. For ourselves, the people of the United States, this convention is an example and inspiration; for yourselves, it is the chance of the century, and holds the key to the future of the century. You have the power within yourselves, in this People's Convention, to tear the millstone of the empire from your necks, that empire which never did the common folk of England any good no more than it did any good for the hundreds of millions of men and women throughout the empire. You British workers, who are a majority of people on the islands, who have organized and defended powerful trade unions which the bosses fear, you, who have arms in your hands, stout hearts on every heath, strong wills in every town—you can give the example to rock all of Europe, to set Hitler reeling. You can force a peace without annexations and indemnities, a people's peace that would win for England the powerful support of the Soviet Republics. You can bring low the system of British imperialism, the fountainhead of world reaction, the architect of so many of the world's misfortunes. You can bring a peace among peoples that will topple the ugly edifice of fascism everywhere. You can bring millions of Americans to your aid who are suspicious and resentful of the aid which is now flowing to your rulers.

Many a doubting Thomas will ask whether that is practical. Well, it seems to us a thousand times more practical than to spend months and perhaps years in those Anderson shelters, on those subway platforms, with the ruins of capitalist civilization crashing in all around you.

Many a faint-heart will ask whether Hitler will permit it? Hitler? Why, indeed, ask him? For is it not clear that the force of England's example, the declaration of peace by a People's Government, is one to which the peoples of all Europe will rally. And who dares to deny that, should Hitler insist upon warfare (if he is still there to insist upon anything), that the British people can fight as well, if not a thousand times better than they do today, in defense of the better living standards, the lowered taxes, the deep shelters, the democratic bulwarks which only their People's Government can win.

So-called Socialists will call this Convention treason. And Mr. Morrison himself, with his snide pomposity, has "reserved" to himself "the right to suppress it." But these same gentlemen, who now redouble their promises of socialism when the war is over, are they not the same who have taken England through two Labor governments without getting an inch nearer socialism? Are they not, like their counterparts in Germany a generation ago, promising you socialism only to tide over the deep crisis of capitalism? Is it not clear that the British ruling class faces a deeper crisis than it faced after the last war, or during the General Strike? Ought you not take advantage of this crisis to build the organizations that will lead you toward peace and plenty for England, instead of winning this war for a ruling class that takes advantage of you while the fight is on, and plans to do so even more rapaciously when this war is over?

Some people will say that America won't like it. In truth, the men of Wall Street and Washington fear the People's Convention. And they try to keep news of it from the great masses of people. All the more reason, then, why the people of America respond to this convention. For they see the only guarantee of a better world for England; they see in this convention what they themselves must do. The cooperation of the English-speaking peoples, of which there is so much chatter in the press: this is not a matter of arms and ships and tanks, nor is it a matter of the joint exploitation of the colonial world. Mr. Roosevelt's aid for Britain not only harnesses the American workers, but it converts the peoples of the British Isles and all of the empire into the subjects of American capital. The aid that we want to give to England is the aid for the aims of your People's Convention, the aims that will set England free and show the way for the rest of the world.

We don't know many of the names of the men at this convention. They are the local leaders of the Labor Party; they are the officials of local trade union organizations. But if the London Cooperative Society with its million and three-quarter members are behind it, if the shops on the Merseyside, the machinists on River Clyde, the operatives of Lancashire, if the South Wales Miners Federation support it — that is proof of its deep roots in British soil. Your chairman, D. N. Pritt, is well known in this country. He's that brave MP for North Hammersmith whom the Labor Party Executive expelled last spring because he was right on the Finnish issue and they were wrong. His "Penguin" volumes on Soviet policy have won him the respect of hundreds of thousands of Americans. And then there is Prof. J. B. S. Haldane, and the Dean of Canterbury, whose great book on Soviet Russia thousands of American workers are reading. What he supports must be worthy of support.

This convention is a beginning. But it's an enormous step forward in the right direction. It carries on in the spirit of that Unity movement of three years ago, which had it been successful might have spared the British people this war. It carries on in the spirit of the Chartists of one hundred years ago. It carries forward in the great traditions of stubborn militancy for which British folk are renowned.

Men and women of England—this People's Convention is the real turning point of the war. This, if you persevere, is of far greater meaning than a hundred battles on the hot sands of Libya. This, your People's Convention, will be remembered long after Hitler's name is an ugly word in a long-forgotten era. To be sure, there will always be an England. But from this convention forward, you have the opportunity and responsibility to make it *your own England*. That England, millions of people, Americans in the first place, stand ready to aid.

EDITORS OF NEW MASSES.

The Twentieth Century Charter

JUST one hundred years ago, the people of England were swept up in the great Chartist movement. Their six-point program, embodied in the famous Charter, expressed their demand for universal suffrage, their protest against the misery of the factory system. A hundred years later, the great-grandsons of the Chartists carry forward their struggle against the even more intolerable horror of imperialism today.

The Twentieth Century Charter appeals to "all working men and women, Socialists, trade unionists, and cooperators, professional and intellectual workers, small shopkeepers, businessmen and farmers, democrats and anti-fascists" to rally in a determined campaign for the following six demands:

1. Defense of the people's living standards.
2. Defense of the people's democratic and trade union rights.
3. Adequate air raid precautions, deep bombproof shelters, rehousing, and relief of victims.
4. Friendship with the Soviet Union.
5. A People's Government, truly representative of the whole people and able to inspire the confidence of the working people of the world.
6. A people's peace that gets rid of the causes of war.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Plowing Under the Consumer's Dollar

The lords of creation manipulate the budget to siphon off increased income into war production. The Federal Reserve Board's chairman makes a report. Inflation?

THERE is a special legerdemain in which bankers are expert, and never is their magic so bewildering as when wars brew. For while the bankers and their politicians gabble about budgets and excess profits taxes and curbing inflationary tendencies, they are picking the pockets of their audience. Somebody has to pay for armaments. When the government collects taxes or floats loans to produce battleships and guns it does not take merely the paper money. It takes the value that money represents. It diminishes the purchasing power of its citizens. We hear the word "sacrifice" trumpeted as though it were some ennobling rite. But what are the sacrifices we make when we pay for armaments? The clothing we do not buy, the food we deny ourselves, the automobile we cannot afford, the house we will not be able to build, the better apartment we cannot move into, the education we must deny our children—these are our sacrifices.

To many thus far this talk about "sacrifice" has appeared unreal. For we have been enjoying a boom. True, it has been a malformed, noxious boom, an economic Walpurgis Night. Yet it has raised industrial production to new high levels until in November the Federal Reserve Board Index broke all records, reaching 132 (on the 1935-39 base) against 114 for 1929. We produced 65,000,000 tons of steel in 1940 against 62,032,445 tons in 1929. Our total exports were the greatest in value since 1929 and the surplus of exports over imports the largest since the early twenties. Employment in manufacturing industries in November 1940 was higher than in any month since 1921. (Dept. of Labor index.) Retail trade reached $45,000,000,000 which was 7 percent over 1939 and, considering the 15 percent difference in price level, actually exceeded 1929 in volume of commodities distributed. The national income climbed up to around $74,000,000,000 in 1940 ($78,000,000,000 in 1929), and for 1941 the estimate is for eighty to eighty-three billions.

But the bankers have called a halt and the President and the Congress give full heed. The increased national income must not be permitted to raise the standard of living of the masses of people. This is the meaning of the program of direct and indirect taxes in the Federal Budget. This is the meaning of the financial program of the Federal Reserve System in its report to Congress.

Ostensibly this report was devoted to submitting recommendations which would safeguard the American people from the horrors of inflation. The report itself, however, admits that "inflation cannot be controlled by monetary measures alone" and its major concern is actually with the means by which the banks can force the productive energies of the American people into armaments and war preparations while they are deprived of the fruits of their earnings.

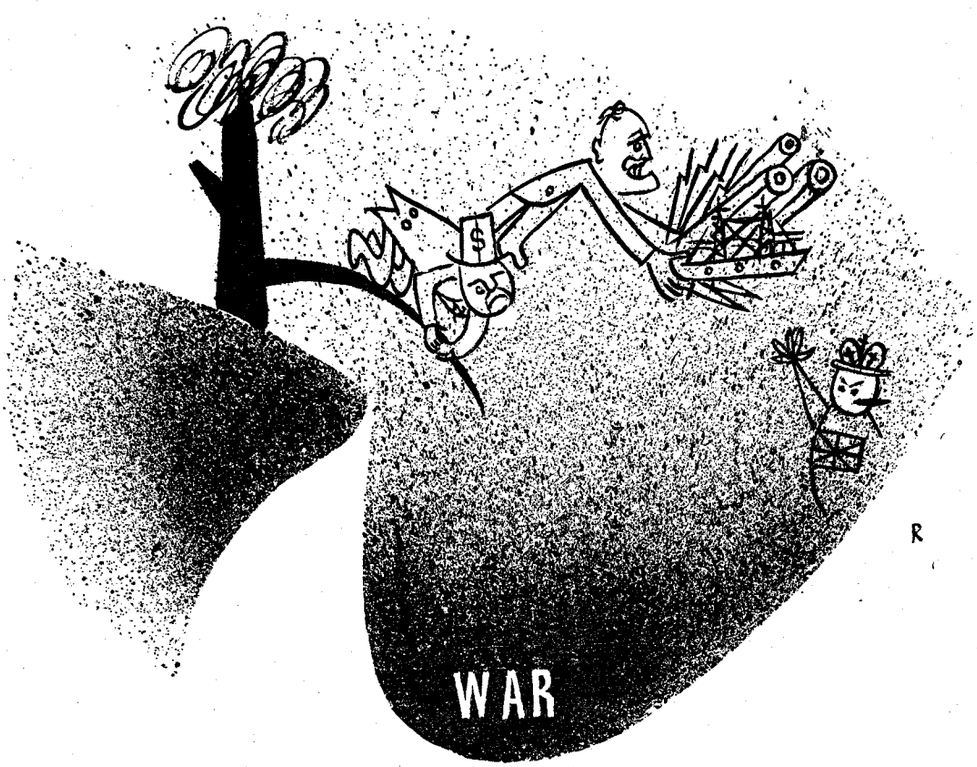
At first glance the report of the august governors of the Federal Reserve Board seems a far cry from your pocketbook. It deals first with monetary policy. During the depression years the Bank had followed an "easy money" policy. For any business man who had the necessary credit standing it encouraged low interest loans. Meanwhile huge reserves of idle capital had piled up in the banks. By October 1940 the *excess* reserves of the member banks of the Federal Reserve Bank system reached $6,940,000,000 after beginning the year with $5,270,000,000. The ratio of reserves to liabilities had reached the stage of practically complete liquidity; it was 91 percent in December 1940. The Treasury closed the year with holdings of gold close to $22,000,000,000, or over $4,500,000,000 more than in 1939.

This vast hoard of gold harbors dangers. For against its purchases of the metal the Treasury has issued gold certificates which eventually form the basis for additional issuances of currency. To a lesser extent silver purchases are also creating excess reserves. Besides the idle funds of large corporations, the banks hold government securities against which credit is extended or currency issued.

So much money with nowhere to go has meant the lowest interest rates in American history. In a period of depression the low interest rates were a boon to the Treasury when it needed money, but they were a headache to the life insurance companies and savings banks which thrive on interest and coupons.

Now a new era dawns. Business "confidence" is bubbling over. As much as possible it is the policy of the administration and the Defense Commission to give big business all the plums of the armaments program. Said Marriner S. Eccles, chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, in his speech before the National Industrial Conference Board on November 28, "Public policy . . . should be directed to creating an economic climate that will give the greatest possible encouragement to private initiative and private enterprise that is consistent with orderly and continuous national progress."

But mark! This new burst of industrial activity must not be permitted to go astray. Some damnfool businessmen or bankers might get the notion that with more employment and higher national income this is the time to build new factories to produce more consumer goods, or buy machines to make articles for consumption, or stock up with raw materials for use in commodities that American families want. That would be a terrible mistake. This idle money is to be put to work, but for armaments production. Here is how the *Journal of Commerce* for January 2 put it in its editorial comment on the Reserve



Rodney

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Board proposals: "By making credit less plentiful, the system could discourage the expansion of credit, particularly for non-armament purposes, and thus help to limit the total demand for goods so as to make an inflationary rise in prices and wages less likely." (There is no such thing as an "inflationary" rise in wages, but it is a very handy theory for the capitalist class to mouth.)

HALTER AND REINS

Clearly, the Federal Reserve Board is trying to prevent some businessmen from following their natural bent in boom times. You remember the Southern mules when the Triple-A forced the plowing under of every third row of cotton. The mules jest wouldn't, and the comment then was that the animals were a lot smarter than the government economists. Now some businessmen see profits ahead in consumer goods, but the halter is on and the reins are taut. For it is not these businessmen, but the major monopolists of finance and the war industries that hold the reins. Puny and distorted as it has been, the standard of living could be raised, even under capitalism. Today they're plowing it under.

One way to remove the possibility of rash investments "that might lead to overexpansion and speculative excesses" is to reduce the excess reserves. The Federal Reserve Board proposes to do that by increasing the reserve requirements for the various member banks, raising the reserve to as high as 26 percent for banks in New York, for example. One result will be to raise interest rates. But that will mean that the Treasury will have to pay more for borrowing money.

Then the suggestion is made to sterilize the incoming gold. That will mean that gold bought by the Treasury will not be sold to the Federal Reserve Banks through gold certificates as now, but will be withdrawn by a series of bookkeeping transactions and will not form the backing for additional currency or credit. Today, further, the Treasury may buy foreign silver at 35 cents an ounce and issue $1.29 in money for every ounce it buys. This is another inflationary tendency.

These proposals tighten the credit structure and are designed not only to avoid inflation but also to keep money flowing into the war effort. And directly affecting the masses of the people are two sections of the Reserve Board report which merit some examination. The Board calls for raising the debt limit. Today it stands at $45,000,000,000. The idea now is to raise it to sixty or sixty-five billion dollars. Then it recommends that the Treasury be authorized to issue taxable securities. This it clinches with the proposal that these new securities should be sold to private investors, not to commercial banks.

That sounds innocent. It isn't. By selling to individuals there is no danger of excess reserves piling up again in the banks. And the purchasing power of the individual is reduced by freezing part of his income in these bonds. It's similar in some respects to J. M. Keynes' plan of "compulsory savings" or "deferred pay." It's the signal for 1941 Liberty Loan drives, War Savings Stamps, high pressure "Save England" Baby Bonds. If the "private investor" buys them that much money is withdrawn from circulation, saved from the temptation of buying clothes or butter or a house or a good book. Instead, it flows via the government into munitions. And who is this "private investor"? All signs point to middle-class people, as well as many workers. Remember Secretary Morgenthau's recent statement that the Treasury may issue bonds in $5 and $10 denominations. The rich, on the other hand, will invest most of their money in far more lucrative war babies and in imperialist adventures.

The idea is shrewd. After all, when you buy a bond the United States government is behind it. You are assured of repayment after the war. You may not want to buy it, but at least you have a solid investment. So it's a better idea than taxation, from the politician's angle. Then it has the virtue of depriving of their purchasing power the lower income groups whose consumption expenditures are a very considerable part of the country's total. By shunting the purchasing power from butter to guns the Reserve Board hopes to avoid inflation.

The second direct wallop at the people is the proposal that "as the national income increases a larger and larger portion of the defense expenses should be met by tax revenues rather than by borrowing." At their best internal loans are not the ideal method of paying for armaments. There's the burden of the interest payments and amortization. Even with forced bond sales to lower income groups, the quick and thorough fleecing of the poor which taxation affords is not forgotten. That is why new taxes on low incomes and consumption are also being considered.

FOREIGN CURRENCIES

There are curious reflections in the Reserve Board report of the imperialist aims of the United States in this war. The proposal that the President's power to further devalue the dollar be abolished and that the Treasury be deprived of the right to issue some $3,000,000,000 in "Greenbacks" are not attacks on the Executive. They are steps to remove any lingering doubt concerning the stability of the dollar. The American dollar seeks *Lebensraum*. It is out to displace the English pound. Soon it will be Reichsmark vs. Dollar, and Wall Street wants as many foreign currencies tied to our apron strings as it can win or whip into line.

These then are some of the purposes of the recommendations of the Federal Reserve Board. This is the financial background for the President's budget message. Will these steps actually prevent inflation? We have seen how consumer purchasing power is to be reduced. But all that consumer income diverted into war industry not only produces still more consumer income but also huge profits for the capitalists. The money makers will bid up the prices of scarce commodities. The war consumption will restrict supplies of consumer goods. Even with the rationing that must follow the institution of priorities, prices will creep—or leap—upward when war production gets fully under way. A fight for higher wages will have to be made. Higher wages do not increase prices but they do decrease profits. In this heyday of profit-making that will not be permitted. The American workers and the people as a whole will be brought into ever sharper conflict with the dictates of war economy.

FRANK J. WALLACE.

The Teachers' Union

TO UNDERSTAND the present situation in the American Federation of Teachers, one must recall that William Green has for years been attempting to smash Local 5 of New York and other progressive locals which have refused to kowtow to his policies. At previous conventions of the AFT, delegates rebelled against Green's orders to expel locals he disfavored. At the 1940 convention, Green made another threatening speech which was widely resented by the membership. Even though Green's man Friday, George S. Counts, was elected AFT president, and despite the election of a reactionary executive council, the sentiment of the delegates was clearly against any arbitrary efforts to expel the progressive locals. Indeed, Counts and the executive council were compelled to resort to promises of unity and democracy in the union before they could be elected.

Since the convention, the Counts-Green forces have defied the wishes of the membership, ridden roughshod over the union's constitution, laid plans for a dual organization in New York. Last week they announced that Local 5 (second largest local in the union with a membership of 6,000) must answer charges by February 15. Expulsion is threatened. This action is entirely illegal, since the AFT's constitution provides that a local can be expelled only by a two-thirds vote of a national convention. It is obvious that the executive council wants to present the membership with an accomplished fact.

To the trumped-up charges leveled against his group, President Charles J. Hendley of Local 5 gave a forthright answer. He labeled the accusations "spurious and malicious." Pointing out that Local 5 is one of the most democratically organized chapters in the federation, Mr. Hendley declared: "They have thrown down the gauntlet to us. We accept the challenge and we are going to fight to the finish."

The action of the executive council is all the more vicious and irresponsible in view of the Coudert witch hunt against the New York locals. The executive council was forced by popular pressure to condemn the tactics of the Coudert committee; but its own action is the best help that Coudert might desire at this moment. The entire union membership is alarmed by the new dictatorial decree, and it is that membership which will insist upon having the last word in the matter.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Moscow Builds

While the rest of the world moves toward destruction, the Soviet capital continues building up the country. A report by Anna Louise Strong.

Moscow.

IT IS a bit of a shock to come to Moscow across war-torn Europe and find a land so completely devoting itself to the pursuits of peace. Elections to the Finnish-Karelian Soviet Republic, the 120th anniversary of an educational institution, the seventieth birthday celebration of a well-known metallurgist, a theater opening in Viborg, a conference of industrial chiefs of the Moscow district—these are the things that make the front page.

Leading articles of the past month—while bombs fall on Europe, Africa, and Asia—have been given to: "Harvest of Industrial Crops"; "The Village Library as Center of Rural Culture"; "Prepare in Time for Wintering Cattle"; "Youth of the Soviet Epoch"; "Strengthen the Discipline of the Technological Process"; "Cultural Horizon of Party Members"; "Speed-Up Fall Ploughing"; "Improve the Provincial Press"; "Forward to Higher University Standards." While most of the world thinks of means of destruction, Moscow resolutely turns its mind toward building up the country.

A bumper crop has flooded the shops with food products of a greater variety than Russia ever knew. Moscow bread factories produce 350 different kinds of bread, including 150 kinds of sweet buns and cake. People are better dressed than two years ago when I left here. Automobiles are more plentiful; at certain hours they actually clog the streets. One evening at seven, as the offices were closing, I had to wait for the third showing of the green light before I could get through a street-crossing; this is almost reminiscent of New York. It is a contrast with the empty streets of Europe, which the war and gasoline shortage have denuded of cars. They aren't wasting gasoline here either, but there is enough to keep plenty of cars in the streets.

NEW BUILDINGS

Widening of streets continues in the central part of Moscow. Just now they are finishing the upper half of old Tverskaia, now known as Gorki Street. They have an interesting method; they build a line of fine apartment houses behind the old buildings, and then—in almost a single night—knock out the old ones, leaving the wider street with a complete new frontage. Buildings too valuable to demolish are simply moved back. Just now Muscovites are commenting on the simultaneous moving of three buildings—24,000 tons on a single frame. One was a theater, the others were office buildings and apartments. They were moved thirty or forty feet back, and the entire life of the buildings continued during the process. Telephones, water and sewage and electric connections functioned continuously, while the occupants reached the street by portable wooden bridges which were constantly growing in size.

Recently when I went to file a telegram, I noticed a whole bunch of people sitting at tables in the post office, drawing their "photo-telegrams." I was reminded that the technique of sending photographic material by wire, which in America is used by the big newspapers, is here at the disposal of the simplest citizen. The post office gives you a square of blank, glazed white paper and you fill it with anything you like. Handwriting, typewriting, pen drawings, maps, diagrams, personal signatures—all of it goes by wire. For sending long messages, it is actually cheaper than ordinary wire, since you can write a lot of words in the space. It is also more accurate and intimate. Doubtless the reason we don't do it in America is that the telegraph companies would lose money if "photo-telegrams" were introduced.

BRIDGES AND SUMMER COTTAGES

Driving about the city, I notice some big modern bridges that were just being finished when I left two years ago. They span the widened Moscow River, through which additional water now flows from the Volga-Moscow Canal. But most of these changes in the center of Moscow were done or almost done two years ago. The biggest changes now are in the suburbs. Fifteen to thirty miles out of Moscow in all directions thousands of summer cottages are springing up.

Since my family also is building a summer cottage, I can testify that it is a difficult, complicated job. Summer cottages aren't on the Five Year Plan of any government trust or department, so you can't get logs or nails for them until all the planned industries and house construction jobs are satisfied. The rapid springing up of the summer cottages now testifies both to the endless energy of Moscow citizens and to the existence of available nails and logs, "over and above plan."

The Agricultural Exposition has closed for the winter. Like the International Exposition in New York, it was in its second year. I picked up a few statistics while wandering through it. In czarist days Russia had 79,000 teachers; now there are 969,000. A twelve-fold growth! Collective farmers' income grew from 4,500,000,000 rubles in 1932 to nearly 19,000,000,000 the past year. Ninety-one percent of these farms are now serviced by tractors and harvester combines—a much greater mechanization than on American farms. Since the machines are not confined to the small area of individual farms, the tractors handle an average of 1,093 acres; they are three times as productive as tractors in America. The combines reap 1,000 acres per combine, as contrasted with the American average of 475.

There's a limit to absorption of even such exciting statistics. My limit is soon reached. My real appreciation of the Exposition came two weeks after I visited it. I met in a village out of Moscow, women bragging that their broods of white hens were "pure-bred, bought at the Exposition." I began to realize then what the Exposition was for. Then I visited a *kolhoz* thirty miles out and saw how proud they were that they were "one of the two exhibiting *kolhozes* from Moscow District." That meant that they were first class. Every five days they took fresh carrots, cabbage, potatoes to the Exposition, to keep the supply fresh. One of their girls made a speech there on how she raised twenty-five tons of cabbage to the acre. They got the Order of Lenin, 10,000 rubles money prize, and an auto truck. It was a prize many farms had worked for; thus the Exposition stimulated better farming.

This prize *kolhoz* was "Lenin's Memory Farm." I visited it in 1937. It was a first-class farm even then; it is bigger and better now. Membership has grown from 200 to 250; for though all the local peasants had joined three years ago, the district has been filling up with workers commuting to Moscow, and their wives join this vegetable-growing farm. Acreage has grown from 700 to 1,125 acres, the addition being from the government land reserve. Three years ago they were proudly approaching the "millionaire class," with 800,000 rubles income; this year they nonchalantly count 2,500,000 rubles income.

"In pre-revolutionary days," said the president, "this district raised only oats and potatoes, and got three or four tons per acre at most. This year our potatoes run twelve tons to the acre, but they are not our most important crop. We have twenty tons of cabbage per acre, twelve of cucumbers, sixteen of carrots, turnips, and tomatoes. Three years ago we had some first class crops in some products; now we have first-class crops in all. Then we were proud of buying selected seed; now we produce our own."

Three years ago the farm was already specializing in vegetable-growing and was making the proud experiment of irrigating twenty-five acres by pumping water from Kliazma River. Now 500 of its acres have an irrigation system for supplementary use when needed, while four acres are under glass so that the farm may produce vegetables all the year. They have put in a 100-acre orchard, a new chicken farm with 300 pure-bred hens; they have increased livestock and added bee-keeping with fifty hives. I went through the new cow barn, the new hog barn; they made me first walk through a box of disinfectant to protect the newborn pigs. Yes, they were very thoroughly

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

modern; three years ago they had two auto trucks; now they have six, in a new fire-proof garage.

The life of the members has improved in proportion. Forty-one new houses have been built. Thirty members in the past three years have been sent to special schools and have returned with new technical abilities for use on the farm. Instead of one agronomist there are three now, and a veterinary, two fruit specialists, seven greenhouse technicians, seven chauffeurs, and five tractor drivers. "All our own people," brags the president. "We send several off to school each year."

DENTAL CLINICS

The new dental clinic which three years back they were just opening is a full size ambulatoria now for all kinds of ailments. The Moscow Health Department supplies the doctors, but the *kolhoz* supplies the buildings and equipment. The day nursery has grown to a three-building combination of nursery and kindergarten surrounding a playground. The club has a piano, a string orchestra, and music teachers for children. They added a theater for Sound Films a short time ago.

A new collective life grows up around this equipment. When the kindergarten sent seven children off to their first year in the regular schools last September, they held a big party, and presented each child with a brief-case, books, note-books, pencils, and a new dress and shoes. These were the gifts, not of parents, but of the whole farm looking after its children.

The farm looks after its sick and aged also. Two percent of its income and two percent of the income of each member go into a Self-Help Fund which fulfills for *kolhoz* members the function which the Social Insurance does for industrial workers. It continues the daily income of those who are ill, cares for the old and disabled, sends the sick to health resorts, keeps up the ambulatoria, and makes loans to members for building new homes or buying a cow.

SEWAGE AND SANITATION

I ran into one fact quite incidentally, which seemed to me even more exciting than this whole collective farm. The farms around Moscow are using Moscow's garbage for heating greenhouses and vegetable frames. The entire garbage of Moscow is used in this way. Instead of being piled in unsightly, unsanitary dumps or even burned, it goes for "bio-thermal processes." There is more demand for it in the farms around Moscow than the city can fill.

The garbage is hauled to the farms and put into trenches a yard deep, covered on top with some six inches of earth. In rotting, it produces a high temperature in the earth above it, enabling vegetables to be grown under frames but without artificial heat from February on. When it is completely rotted, it is taken out, and is found to be an almost odorless fertilizer.

All of Moscow's autumn and winter garbage is used in this manner. Spring and summer garbage is at present converted directly into fertilizer, but a newly developed process is now being introduced which will halt decomposition, and allow it to be saved for "bio-thermal use" the following winter.

In America garbage destruction is a municipal job, while farm fertility is a private job; the two don't mix. In Moscow farms are doubling and tripling fertility by using garbage. All Moscow's sewage, after disinfection, is similarly used. It's an old Chinese custom, now applied scientifically and wholesale; there is no unpleasant odor and no danger of infection involved.

All Moscow's vegetable needs can soon be met from the immediately adjacent farming area, due to the doubling and tripling of fertility by sewage and garbage. Decades ago Kropotkin's "Conquest of Bread" proved that it was theoretically possible for a metropolitan area to feed itself within its own limits, but till now this has never been realized. Moscow will be the first large city to realize it.

ANNA LOUISE STRONG.

THE MUMMIFIED MONKEY'S HAND

N. Y. Herald Tribune, Jan. 2, 1941

Armament Usurps Chief Role in U.S. Industrial Upturn

All Economic Trends Gather Momentum as New Year Begins; Further Advances in Output and Consumption Are Forecast

By Edward H. Collins
Associate Financial Editor

W. Jacobs, the British author, once wrote a gruesomely fascinating s[tory a]bout an elderly and God-fearing couple who came quite by chance in[to p]ossession of an unusual curio. The curio was a mummified monkey's paw, and there was a superstition that if its owner rubbed it and made a wish the wish would be granted.

More in jest than in earnest, and with some twinges of conscience, the couple decided to try the experiment. They rubbed the paw and wished for what was to them a rather substantial sum of money. Their wish was granted, but hardly in the manner they had hoped. That day their only son was killed in an accident at the factory. In due course they received compensation for his death, and as they counted out the money it dawned upon them that it was precisely the sum for which they had made their wish on the monkey's paw.

It will perhaps seems like a far cry from Mr. Jacobs's weird and purely imaginary tale to the hard factual events in the world of American business and finance in 1940; yet who will say that the latter story is, essentially, any less grimly ironic?

For more than a decade, or ever since the collapse of the prosperity of the '20s, the people of the United States have been waiting and hoping for the emergence of some new durable goods industry of ranking size—an industry powerful enough to revitalize business, put capital to work and restore labor to full employment. Stripped of statistics the financial record of 1940 is neither more nor less than the story of the emergence of that industry. The irony of the story lies, of course, in the fact that the industry is not at all what the country had hoped for all these years—an industry which might be expected to advance the pursuits of peace, provide people with new and useful goods and services and raise the standard of living as, for example, the railroads and the automobile had done.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Students Say "Twaddle"

Mrs. Roosevelt's boy Lash fails to deliver. Students at three conventions turn thumbs down on war and forced labor camps.

CHRISTMAS week brought little good cheer to one Joseph P. Lash. Lifted from City College to the White House by the helping hands of Eleanor and Franklin D., pal Joey had counted on presenting his benefactors with a new pro-war youth movement for 1941. The neatly tied package was to have contained most of the student leaders who attended the holiday conference of International Student Service and the National Student Federation at the New Jersey College for Women in New Brunswick. Lash's failure to deliver was a bitter disappointment to the Roosevelts. For the support of the student movement, like the support of any section of the American people, is a gift they badly need to smooth the path to empire.

And the Sixth Annual Convention of the American Student Union in New York didn't bring any shouts of joy from the White House brigade either. Coincidental with the New Brunswick steal, the war forces hoped that Christmas would see the ASU in its final grave. Instead, it marked a new and greater stage of development for the ASU and the student movement in general. For the first time in its five years' history, complete unity was established around a militant program to keep America out of war, for USA collaboration with the USSR and China, to preserve academic freedom and democratic education, the rights of organized labor, civil liberties of the people, and to secure equality for the Negro people. Instead of only a handful of delegates attending, as Lash had hopefully predicted, 355 students from all sections of the country showed up for the convention.

A long time ago America's young people said they didn't want any part of this scramble for power between the British and the German imperialists. They said it at the American Student Union Convention in Madison a year ago when the war was just getting under way and they said it again and louder at the 5,000-strong Youth Congress Institute in Washington last February. When President Roosevelt stamped their sentiments "twaddle" organized youth knew the fight was on. If the big money couldn't wheedle youth into cooperation with its war program then it would straitjacket it. Having failed to win support from the Student Union and the Youth Congress, the next step was to disrupt them from within, pick up the splinters, and mold them into rival and eventually the number one youth organizations.

THE ROYAL TOUCH

For this job the royal touch was laid upon Joe Lash. Two months ago through Mrs. Roosevelt's Park Avenue friends, Miss Ingrid Warburg and Mrs. Eliot Pratt, Lash was promoted to General Secretary of International Student Service with a retainer of $4,000 per year. Marshalled under him was a string of lesser generals at proportionate salaries. The strategy they chose to capture the student movement for the White House was the joint conference of ISS with NSFA during Christmas week. With hand-picked delegates, chairmen, speakers, and their own rules of procedure success seemed a cinch.

But as the girls and boys from all over the country straggled into Cooper Hall that first morning to register, it didn't seem quite so sure. Many of them who had seen the papers were asking why some 110 people who sent in credentials hadn't been accepted. And many others were saying what's all this about ISS' program for forced labor camps? Lash, Robert Spivack, Robert Lane, Louise Morley, and Irwin Ross, ISS' general staff (the organization has no membership) scurried around to quiet suspicions and get the machine moving.

It got under way with one of those panic-inspiring messages from the President and bogged down almost at once when Mrs. Pratt, conference chairman and prominent in the Women's Division of the Democratic National Committee, protested ISS' innocence of any taint of forced labor camps.

And that was where Mrs. Roosevelt's boys stayed right up to the end of the conference—on the defensive. Not a single goal they had set was reached. Through these five days' sessions they hoped to swing student support behind all-aid-to-Britain, to find a popular base for the forced labor camp solution to youth's problems, and upon these points to build an opposition to the ASU and the AYC.

STUDENT COMMON SENSE

By the fourth day results were so pitiful that Lash said openly on the floor: "I'm not very happy with the way our conference turned out. I'm only satisfied that it wasn't completely taken away from us. We have to think of more ways to prevent this in the future."

What Lash didn't count on was the stubborn common sense of student leaders who refused to swallow a rotten egg once they had smelled it. Since he had shut the door upon scores of progressive delegates whom he accused of being ASU'ers or Reds, Lash was confident that an agenda stuffed with twenty-seven "friendly" speakers and with precious little time for the rank and file to speak would put over his program.

But in every commission and plenary discussion the delegates kicked at the undemocratic rules and tore into the reactionary speeches of the pressure boys. Aid to Britain was dragged into each session as the peg upon which the ISS hoped to hang everything else. No one else would tip his hat to the empire, so Lash and Spivack, together with Gil Stott, a tweedy youngster with a Dale Carnegie delivery, who handles student work for the William Allen White committee, had to do all the agitating.

In the Youth as Defenders roundtable, where discussion was freest, Lash relied upon emotional fireworks to dazzle the delegates. "England is fighting freedom's battle for the whole world," he said. With nothing offered to prove Mr. Churchill's loyalty to democracy, the delegates, a Negro among them who had once known the joys of British colonial rule, rammed head on into the flimsy oratory and exposed the true nature of the war. Lash demagogically shifted ground to accept all the criticisms made of empire-builders in Europe and the USA, but with the warning that all-aid-to-Britain came first in spite of everything.

All such fakery designed to find common cause with the students failed, and when some Vassar girls circulated a petition against aid-to-Britain, Lash tried to counter with one of his own, asking the press not to report the results if his vote was too tiny. Results were seventy-one against FDR's war policy, and forty-seven for.

This majority, who spoke for a real people's defense of America that would keep us out of war and advance social welfare at home, got the biggest hand at the conference. Mr. Liu Liang-Mo, secretary of the YMCA in China, spoke at the session on the international situation and brought the house down with his three-point program on "How to Serve Democracy" by giving full aid to China, completely embargoing Japan, and collaborating with the Soviet Union in the Far East. "Soviet Russia is the only faithful nation aiding China," Mr. Liu said. "We hope in the Far East that the USA will try to cooperate more with the Soviet Union."

That clear and definite speech coming from one who knew and had experienced the facts of Anglo-American collaboration to hinder China preceded a farcical debate between "isolationist" Quincy Howe and "interventionist" Reinhold Niebuhr on foreign policy. It turned out to be a debate on how much aid can we give Britain and how fast? And they managed to stretch it out long enough to cut off expression of disgusted opinion from the floor.

LABOR CAMPS

ISS didn't do so well on labor camps either. By this time, copies of the NEW MASSES' article on the plot to make them compulsory had been grabbed up at street corners by many delegates, and Robert Lane, the handsome Harvard lad who is ISS' work camp secretary, labored hourly to answer the charges made by NEW MASSES. During the session on Youth in Public Administration the delegates' ques-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tions to Lane became so hot that the chair attempted futilely to adjourn the meeting. Everyone wanted to stay to hear the answers to a lot of embarrassing queries. Someone wanted to know if the ISS believed work camps were the solution to unemployment among youth, where did they expect to get enough money to expand them nationally on a voluntary non-governmental basis? "Yes, that's it," said the harried Lane, "we have to find a way out of that."

No less an expert than Mrs. Roosevelt, honorary member of ISS' executive board and chief guest at the Saturday night dinner, tipped their hand on that point. The way out *is* compulsory labor camps, she said in answer to a number of questions sent up by delegates. "I believe that every boy and girl in this nation should give a year's service to the nation," she said. "I believe it should be compulsory." A shudder went the length of the big shots' table. For months the ISS had been denying any knowledge of Washington support for labor camps and now right at the peak of the conference that was to have put over the idea in disguised form, Mrs. FDR revealed the truth. "It was terribly embarrassing to us," to say the least in Irwin Ross' own words.

As the conference headed into its closing sessions, the darlings of the Bundles for Britain ladies rather apathetically brought their "red-hot" plan for a new student organization before the delegates. Plugged strongly in the press as the days went by, it hadn't raised a whisper in the college halls. Lash had placed his "Clinic on Social Action Programs on the Campus" at the end of the conference, hoping to build student sentiment toward enthusiasm for a new organization. So plain was resentment toward the aid-to-Britain program the new outfit must have, the stooges chosen to bring forth the new baby made a very sloppy delivery. Peter Kuh of Swarthmore's split-off ASU chapter did the honors, even thinking it necessary to placate the delegates with polite bows to the ASU as he tried to cut its throat. No one stirred with enthusiasm for his proposals and the next day the Student League for Progressive Action emerged from a conference among the handful of Swarthmore, Harvard, Radcliffe, and Mount Holyoke dissidents. They left the conference with not one new supporter for their incubator baby.

JOINT ADMINISTRATION

This was Sunday, and the 143 ISS delegates packed up and went home, leaving the 100-odd National Student Federation people behind to complete their own business. Monday morning when NSFA President John Darnell delivered his annual report, delegates saw at once this was also Mr. Joseph P. Lash's business. For Darnell, a lanky, pink-faced Californian with a nasty laugh, ended by submitting a plan for a merger between ISS and NSFA. It was so deliberately long and complicated that students had to ask a lot of questions to get it straight. Hoping "to simplify matters," Darnell said, "It's strictly a business proposition." All the innocents immediately sniffed something phony. If it was "strictly business," then something must be in it for somebody. For four and a half hours they battered both Darnell and Lash, who suddenly appeared on the floor at the former's invitation, with prying questions. Where was ISS' money coming from and why could it get dough when NSFA had only $150 between itself and bankruptcy? Lash boasted of a fund of $1,800 ISS has put aside simply to experiment with formats for a new student magazine, and of another $10,000 they have on hand to cover possible losses in the first months of publication. To NSFA he offered $3,000 if they would allow him to set up a secretaryship for student government within ISS that would be administered jointly with NSFA.

THE MERGER VOTE

Because neither Lash nor Darnell gave open answers to them, and because the delegates had come to distrust ISS after witnessing its undemocratic tactics and analyzing its pro-war program, the students voted down the merger plan sixty-nine to fifty-two. Lash stalked out of the room and Darnell leaped up to denounce hysterically those who had voted no. "You've no guts," he raged. "You're scared to express the conservative point of view." Later, in an aside to the press table, he said contemptuously of his own membership, "They're such stupid little lugs!"

Turning from the ISS to a resolution on disaffiliating from the Youth Congress, sponsored by the NSFA leadership, the delegates voted for it, but with twenty-four dissenting. Frances Williams of the AYC was allowed only a half-hour to answer Red-baiting attacks by Darnell's forces, whereas Lash had been given over four hours on the ISS proposal.

In part, the vote was the delegates' expression of disgust with Lash and the consequent desire for independence from all other groups. The core of voters from reactionary, ROTC Southern schools, the same group that forced a compromise on the anti-lynching resolution that resulted in two Negro delegates walking out, was able also to swing the vote of many progressive students confused by constant Red-baiting of the AYC. But despite all that, twenty-four students, one-fourth of those present, showed they understood the need for and value of working on common problems together with the AYC.

Many more students, in fact 355 more in New York, showed that they too recognized the value of organization to combat the war drive when the ASU voted unanimously to support the Youth Congress Town Meeting of Youth next month.

The ASU in program and organization had everything that the ISS leadership wouldn't stand for. Intelligent, earnest, progressive debate followed the speeches of such real youth and labor leaders as Edward Strong of the Negro Youth Congress, Len Detweiler of the Intercollegiate Christian Council, Roy Lancaster of Labor's Non-Partisan League, Dr. Bella Dodd and Morris U. Schappes of the Teachers Union, Dr. Harry F. Ward of Union Theological Seminary, Mr. Liu Liang-Mo of the Chinese YMCA, and the fighting congressman from Harlem, Vito Marcantonio.

The resolutions which came out of the convention showed the same honest desire manifested by the students in Jersey to shape a clear course for the democratic defense of America, at the same time building the country and creating more opportunities for America's students.

HONESTY AND SINCERITY

The honesty and sincerity of the delegates were revealed by the girl from Northwestern, who spoke against the resolution urging cooperation between the USA, China, and the USSR. After she spoke, the Hearst stool-pigeon, Howard Rushmore, asked her for her name. She refused to give it because, as she explained later, "If I gave them my name, they will say that one delegate stood up against all the 'Reds' in the ASU. I didn't want to give them a chance to Red-bait."

But, even though unity was achieved on program and aims, the ASU still didn't solve the problem of organization. As their convention and the conventions of the law students in Washington, the medical students in Boston, and the ISS and NSFA in New Brunswick showed, student America is ready to be organized, not by misleaders as the ISS conference proved, but by real progressive organizations like the ASU. Here, the student union has much to do.

The total result of that week-end in New Brunswick and New York was a strengthening of the progressive, anti-war youth movement. Lash's plan for a joint conference backfired. His plan had been to gain control through the NSFA of college student councils and to use them to establish as the official student organization on campus his new Student League.

Since the plan failed, the progressives still hold the initiative. But Joe Lash certainly doesn't consider himself licked. In a letter to the NY *Times* on January 2 he called his overwhelming defeat at the hands of NSFA delegates simply "a temporary breakdown of negotiations." That same day both the *Times* and the NY *Herald Tribune* published editorials on the Christmas student conventions, attacking their anti-war stand as "nonsense." Said the *Times:* "We see no reason whatever for being tender [with college youth]."

A month ago Aubrey Williams, NYA Administrator, called in Lash to plan with the administration a national mass meeting in Washington to take place about two weeks after the Youth Congress' Town Meeting scheduled for February 7-9. This, then, will be the panic-mongers' next attempt to take youth into camp. What happened this Christmas indicates they'll have just as tough a job on their hands.

MILTON MELTZER,
RALPH FORREST.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

?. S. on Hemingway

;idor Schneider examines the strange literary adventures of the author of "For Whom the Bell ɔlls." From sex and back again. Will Hemingway return to the "have-nots"?

ERNEST HEMINGWAY completely satisfied with the reception of *For Whom he Bell Tolls?*

For the publishers and the booksellers *The Bell* makes a cheering din on the cash register, a success chime that may be sweet enough to lull the author, too. For the literary right, *The Bell* rings out the new, rings in the old Hemingway, mystic of death and *cojones*. To the renegades, *The Bell* has a most soothing ding, like echoes in a cathedral where a service is being performed sanctifying renegacy. The liberal sheets chant Hemingway's praises for returning to the role of story teller. Thus they assess his "truth," and, in their own special courtesy language, inform him that they like him better not thinking than thinking.

I have been told that Hemingway is proud of having spotted Ralph Bates and Vincent Sheean as phonies while they were still imposing on the trustful left. Now Hemingway is slaveringly praised by Bates for exposing the inglories of revolutions, and for having created, in the image of the sly and brutal Pablo, an incriminating rogue's gallery portrait of a people in revolt.

A man concerned about the truth might be concerned over the motives of such critics and the meaning of such criticism.

On the other hand, the left critics attack *The Bell*. Like the critics on the other side they are motivated. Their motive is the struggle for democracy, whose setback in Spain has by no means disheartened them.

A man concerned with the truth would be concerned over their criticism.

During the stir over Hemingway's *The Sun Also Rises* I was at a lunch where rich young men toasted him for having made it all right for them to call their friends sons of bitches and tarts, without the sons of bitches and tarts taking offense. Recently I heard one of that group, now grown heavy, middle-aged, and ripe for a big night club romance bless Hemingway for writing "truly" of love. Is Hemingway the bearer of their truth?

The Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade condemn the book. If Hemingway thinks their published repudiation is only an official formality he should hear their comments in private.

About the time Hemingway appeared briefly in the left press, a man who used to sell literature at meetings said joyfully to me, "All the best writers are coming over to us." I saw him a few days ago. He said despondently, "So, they sucked Hemingway in."

It was a charitable remark.

In the reverberations of Hemingway's first appearance on the literary scene, with the Paris publication of his first book, a collection of short stories, later incompletely republished in New York, under the title *In Our Time*, there was one echoing item of gossip. An impotent, pictured in one of the stories, was said to be a portrait of a celebrated fellow expatriate. *Torrents of Spring*, Hemingway's second book, caricatured Sherwood Anderson, generally considered Hemingway's literary model. Hemingway wrote the book, it was said, to purge himself of a literary influence he had outgrown. The third book, Hemingway's first best seller, *The Sun Also Rises*, was a farewell to the Paris cafes and to former friends whom he dealt with as, on other levels, acid throwers deal with former friends.

Whether the blacker characters in *Farewell to Arms* are former friends of Hemingway I don't know. But Hemingway's attitude to the Italian people on whose side he chose to volunteer in the World War, has often been indiscriminately contemptuous. *To Have and Have Not*, it will be recalled, was two simultaneous stories, one about a lone *have-not* discovering that he is not strong enough alone, discovering his solidarity with the other have-nots; the other about a degenerate, frustrated group of *haves*, evidently former companions on fishing trips, at bars, at literary talk-talk. The point at which the two stories touched was in the contrast of the satisfying sex life of the have-not and his beefy woman and the various types of sex failures among the degenerate *haves*. The half dealing with the dispossessed was the first considerable section in Hemingway's writing that had tragic depth, that showed awareness of the human fate, of man having to live against his fellow men. It gave cause to hope for a powerful advance in his next book. But there is no advance. *The Bell* is a return to the old pattern. Once more the spasm of the post-war sickness of individualist disillusion and the sedative of sex. Once more Hemingway repudiates his immediate past and gives himself a new start. Does Hemingway realize that from the position he reached in *To Have and Have Not* his new start is a step backward?

THE DREAM

In its latest form, in *The Bell*, Hemingway's pattern fits into the degenerate end of the "American dream" as induced by Hollywood, Broadway and best sellers. *Perhaps not fame, perhaps not fortune, but love; all may be an illusion except the great love. The Bell* is a natural for Hollywood.

In the opening of *The Bell*, the hero, Jordan, observes the signs of the guerrilla fighter Pablo's coming defection. We are shown where the process began with the capture of some horses. Pablo now desires only to be left in peace, in possession of his horses. There is even a hint of perverted sexuality in the description of Pablo's possessiveness toward the horses.

Then Jordan wins the girl, Maria. And we see, though not in explicit or even in conscious description, the same process starting, the same mental backtracking. It is hard to understand how the parallel escaped Hemingway himself. Admitted that it is healthier for a man to love a woman than horses, what other essential difference is there, in their relation to their cause, between Pablo and Jordan? For Jordan's defection left uncompleted in the action, is completed in the writing of the book.

Love conquers all. Jordan, that is Hemingway, returns from a great collective emotion that he has touched, that has inspired him to the eloquence of his speech at the Congress of American Writers to where individualism, rugged or decadent, has one arena left—sex. There surrender is simultaneously triumph. There, in the lowest common denominator of society, the sexual union, one can escape all other social responsibility.

SUCCESS AND FAILURE

Once, as a child, I saw a boy fall off a wharf. There were two men around. One screamed and ran away. I saw his face as he ran. It was the face of a conscious coward. The other tore off his clothes, saved the boy, was in all the papers, and got a Carnegie medal as a hero. This has stuck in my mind as an example of a situation in which there are no shades, no degrees between a thing and its opposite.

In the Spanish struggle there were no shades or degrees. The issue, for people living on this planet, was democracy or fascism, freedom or its opposite. Yet, to a man from Mars, watching the battles, the two armies would have looked remarkably alike. *The Bell's objectivity*, tracked to its far end, would lead to that absurdity.

A similar objectivity is claimed by its Tory admirers for *The Bell's* companion best seller, *Oliver Wiswell*, attacking the American fight for democracy of 170 years ago. What sign does Hemingway see in this coincidence?

Does Hemingway think the whole democratic struggle is over because a military phase in Spain is over? Congressmen Cox, Reynolds, Dies won with Franco almost as surely as Hitler and Mussolini. Former defenders of democracy who retire into the starry spaces of objectivity only add to their gains. Those who are checking them are those who continue the struggle and are not camp followers for one romantic campaign.

But it seems to me we are dealing with another set of opposites, the first having become dim to Hemingway. The second set is success and failure. Hemingway's new objec-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tivity is a well-known symptom. In 1906-07 Russian intellectuals who gave up the fight, considering it a proven failure, became similarly "objective" and also heeded the call of the *cojones*. Still, some friends of mine feel that despite *The Bell,* Hemingway remains loyal to the democratic fight and will prove it. I would gladly obscenity in the milk of my analysis, should Hemingway justify them. Hemingway is now at the maturity of his literary power. Let's hope the development we expected after *To Have and Have Not* will appear in his next book.

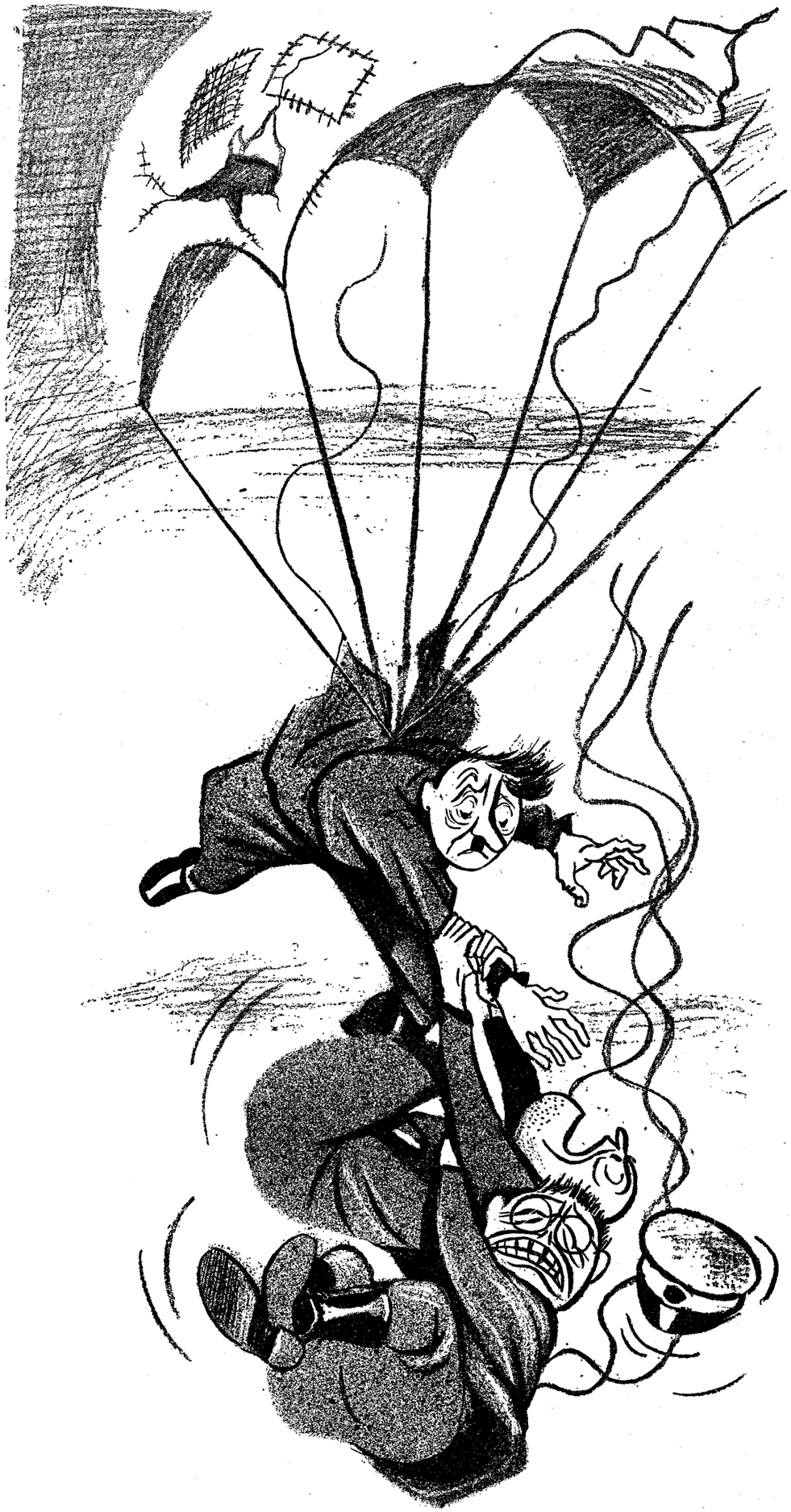
HEMINGWAY'S CHARACTERS

I have just finished reading Major Carlson's book, *Twin Stars of China,* covering eighteen months on the battle fronts, much of the time in observation of Chinese guerrilla fighting. He speaks of the guerrilla fighters as advanced elements of the Chinese people, held together by a comprehensive though flexible discipline, attending classes, and carrying on political discussions with avid interest. This agrees with the evidence on the Spanish guerrilla fighters and on the Partisans of the Russian Civil War. It is known that Hemingway saw little, if anything, of the Spanish guerrilla fighters. He saw something of the Brigade volunteers but for some reason chose not to write about them.

Call them what he will and locate them where he will, a writer can only write truthfully about the people he himself has known. Hemingway's guerrilla band has a strong smell of the bullring. Pablo, the leader of the band, supplied horses for the bullrings. The woman, Pilar, was a bull fighter's mistress. A youngster in the band was an amateur bull baiter; another balances courage in the war against an old fright before the bulls. The group acts with no more discipline than a bored family or a street corner gang. Pablo and Pilar toss the leadership of the band between them, with the rest taking no more interest in their exchange of leaders than if it were a private family arrangement. To present them as representatives of any broad section of the Spanish loyalists, to say nothing of the most advanced among them, is comparable to offering colorful hangers-on at race tracks as the most advanced elements of the American labor movement.

We have the same quality of "truth" in the chief character, Robert Jordan. He is given as an exceptionally brave, trustworthy, and level-headed American volunteer who has left a comfortable college job and a literary career, to fight for Spanish democracy. One wonders a little to find that he has provided himself with a reserve liquor ration of absinthe; and that in his interior monologues, when we are taken into his past, we find it to consist largely of a file of cafe memoirs. Even so Jordan, the volunteer, is not long with us. Under the writer's necessity of writing about someone he really knew, we soon get Hemingway, though still under Jordan's name. The identification tags are clear, including Paris, hunting experiences, and Spain before the war.

The actual death, or shall we say trans-



Michaels

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

figuration of Jordan takes place, not at the end of the book but in the lovemaking inside a remarkable sleeping bag, under which the world "moved," and within which the lovers most blissfully died and were resurrected.

Following that symbolical death any real Jordan disappears from the book. The scene allegedly remains Spain; and the action, allegedly an episode of the Spanish war; and for this Hemingway's translated-from-the-Spanish English, in the dialogue, supplies potent illusion. But Spain has become a kind of underworld Graustark; and Jordan is Hemingway, the foundling of the lost generation, breathing violet disillusion. But to give it "truth," to make it still seem to deal with the Spanish Civil War he names real names, Lister, Campesino, Lucacz, La Pasionaria, Marty. All he repeats about them is gossip, the resort of those who do not know to give themselves the appearance of knowing.

HEMINGWAY AND THE COMMUNISTS

Hemingway has a number of expressions in *The Bell,* respectful toward Communists, and Russians,—in the abstract. When he deals with them directly, however, his understanding of them appears to be derived from the current mythology, in which Reds of all varieties appear as the Monsters of Fearsome Contrasts.

At one point he sneers at Communist puritanism; at another we are given a surfeit of Communist voluptuousness. Marty is presented as a doctrinaire to the point of idiocy; Karkov as a complete cynic without faith in man or principle. Of the two Russian women in the book one dresses in an ill-fitting military uniform and appears quite sexless; the other is a she-animal perpetually in heat. Communists are deceitful because, after all, they are only human and take advantage of their position to send their sons of military age into hiding in Russia; they are also deceitful because they are inhuman, promoting Campesino, who was never a peasant, into a peasant leader, deceiving the people for their own good. They are inhumanly self-controlled, but then they are neurotics and cowards and they ask to be shot when they are wounded because they are afraid of being tortured, afraid they will not bear up under the ordeal. (This, incidentally, is said of a Russian with the name of Kashkin, a man and a name continually derided in the text. Kashkin happens to be the name of an excellent Soviet critic who a few years ago wrote a brilliant critique of Hemingway published in *International Literature,* praising him highly but pointing to his deficiency in social consciousness.)

Book-buyers always flock to the season's book which, while satisfying other appetites has been labeled the literary *must.* Being adventure, uninhibited love, "objectivity" about a controversial cause, and "great writing," all in one, *The Bell* is apparently a big money's worth to the book-buyer. There is good writing in *The Bell,* sometimes so good one finds it hard to account for the obvious bad. Putting the conversation into a translated-from-the-Spanish English is an effective device for fixing the atmosphere, and is well handled. Carrying over the rough courtliness of Spanish peasant speech it adds stateliness to color. By another simple device, the use of "obscenity" as a keyword in untranslatable profanities, a pungent effect is obtained and the reader gets a little diversion making his own substitutions. Further the physical descriptions, the concentration upon characteristics that fix personality, and the management of suspense are, as always with Hemingway, good.

Perhaps the most interesting exhibition of Hemingway's skill is in those places where it is used to cover flaws. The two best illustrations are the atrocity story about the republicans and the vilification of Marty. There is no structural justification for either. But they are set into the story so expertly only the close reader can see the seams. The atrocity story, for example, is prepared by giving the characters a whole day to kill; there is a series of lazy episodes; it seems natural to the reader for story telling to begin; and when the story comes the reader is waiting for it. The vilification of Marty, a set description on a scale unjustified by his purely incidental role in the book and done with a concentration used nowhere else, is yet so brought in as to appear the climax of the string of frustrations of a courier attempting to deliver a vital message. In this covering up Hemingway is exceptionally clever. That is why it is hard to account for the obvious bad writing in the interior monologue which is shallow and surprisingly clumsy and tedious. Even worse are the literary ejaculations with which Hemingway accompanies the repetitious sex scenes.

But these are not the determining factors. Greatness in writing, or in any human activity is not measured by a mastery of knacks and devices. The measure is what the work comprehends, and its genuineness. The comprehension shown is limited, and the work contains little that is genuine. Indeed this setting up of Hemingway's brief and barely touching contacts with the left movement and his lost-generation thinking, as the "truth" of the Spanish struggle, is a spurious act.

BY WAY OF CONCLUSION

Let *The Bell* be recognized for what it is, an assertion of the ego of the individual as against the collective, of the values of the individual as against social values. To justify this, the collective is discredited in the ranks, by the atrocity story and, in the leadership, by characterizations of known people as corrupt, deceitful, and cynical; and the deaths of Jordan, Anselmo, El Sordo, and the others are made pointless.

The reasons for *The Bell* are to be found, I feel, first in the fact that Hemingway cannot get, or has not yet got beyond the post-war attitudes. In those attitudes there was cynicism toward the collective aspirations of men and defiant indulgence in varieties of escapes from social pressures. A second reason for *The Bell* is to be found in Hemingway's apparently completely disheartened reaction to the defeat of democracy in Spain.

I have heard the suggestion that *The Bell* is also Hemingway's response to the goading of those who called him a Communist stooge. If there is any truth at all in that, then *The Bell* is not an assertion of independence. It is an act of deference to punks.

ISIDOR SCHNEIDER.

Prophet Without Honor

You man standing on the mountaintop,
what do you see that's worth the climb up?

You get stiff eyelashes, you get a taste
of snow in your mouth, and a bath of mist;

the hard wind blows you deaf and blind;
what do you see that's worth the climb,
what have you got that we have missed?

If you come down to us and say
there's nothing more than everyday
over the hills and far away,

nothing to think we have not thought,
no novelties in tears and laughter,
no fight that we have never fought,
nothing before and nothing after;

if you come down and tell us this
you'll buy our love, you'll buy our kiss.

But if not, if you stand and stare
over the sky to bluer air,
we'll crucify you standing there.

JOY DAVIDMAN.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Vigilantes March

The native version of Hitler's Brown Shirts takes to parading and drilling under the auspices of Legion and Chamber of Commerce officials. Threatening the unions and foreign born.

"THEY'RE marching pretty ragged," the corner cop told me.

"Yeah! Kinda sloppy."

"They'll improve, though, now that they're drillin' every week down to the Legion home."

The scraggly line of slightly pudgy marchers dragged past. Their feet went scuff, scuff, slap and slap, slap, scuff on the damp pavement. At their head marched the American Legion band, and at their tail scampered a gang of youngsters shouting the kid version of "Hallelujah" and "Glory be!" It looked innocent enough to the uninquisitive bystander; a group of middle-aged, well-upholstered men tramping in a wet street to the tune of *The Caissons Go Rolling Along*. Actually it was anything but innocent, this march of those who call themselves the Minute Men, an indigenous version of the Brown Shirts.

VIGILANTE GANGS

The group I saw was in Stapleton, Staten Island, New York, but correspondents in more than a score of towns and cities widely scattered over the United States have sent me word that similar groups are active in their communities. From Texas and Washington, from Georgia, South Carolina, and Maryland, from Illinois and Missouri comes word that Minute Men or Loyal Americans or Hometown Guards are drilling. Ostensibly their chief function is to be the combating of parachute troops *(parachute troops descending on Moberly, Mo.!)* but their spokesmen give the lie to this claim. These men, invariably business or social leaders, state quite frankly that they are organized to "eliminate subversive groups." What constitutes a subversive group is not stated, but it requires no psychic power to realize that the words will also be spelled u-n-i-o-n-s. And along with the unions all progressive groups which dare suggest that 52,000,000 shrunken bellies should be filled rather than the arsenals of the British empire.

It is not an accident that many of these vigilante gangs began to form immediately after the fall of France or at about the time that the United States Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, and the leadership of the American Legion started to "prove" that the tragedy of France was due to the forty-hour week and the mild social gains inaugurated by the Popular Front government. Nor is it remarkable that in almost every one of these organizations the leading actors are Chamber of Commerce executives or officials of the Legion.

COUNTRY-WIDE REPORTS

Let us get on to my correspondents. Naturally they will be nameless. From Atlanta, Ga.: "Here the group is being recruited from among the 'better' element in a strange alliance with the old 'Gene Talmadge' crowd (Eugene Talmadge, elected governor of Georgia for the third time, is the man who in 1934 erected stockades and used them to confine textile strikers [*under National Guard bayonets*—W. R.]) and is headed by an ex-Legion commander. It is composed largely of labor-baiters and small-time politicians. I imagine all of them have framed pictures of Westbrook Pegler in their bed rooms. Elements of the Ku Klux Klan are active in the country districts. In Berlin the most outspoken is a W. H. Hatchet who urged through the *Atlanta Journal* that the militia be called out to 'maintain order' in districts where Negroes might go to polls, in the last election."

From Houston, Texas: "The leaders down this way are mostly members of the River Oaks Country Club—you know the type, out to get their success in a big way. Service club members (Kiwanis, Exchange, Chamber of Commerce, etc.) make up the membership with a generous addition of ex-service men. The Legion is very cagey about it, but practically all known members are Legionnaires."

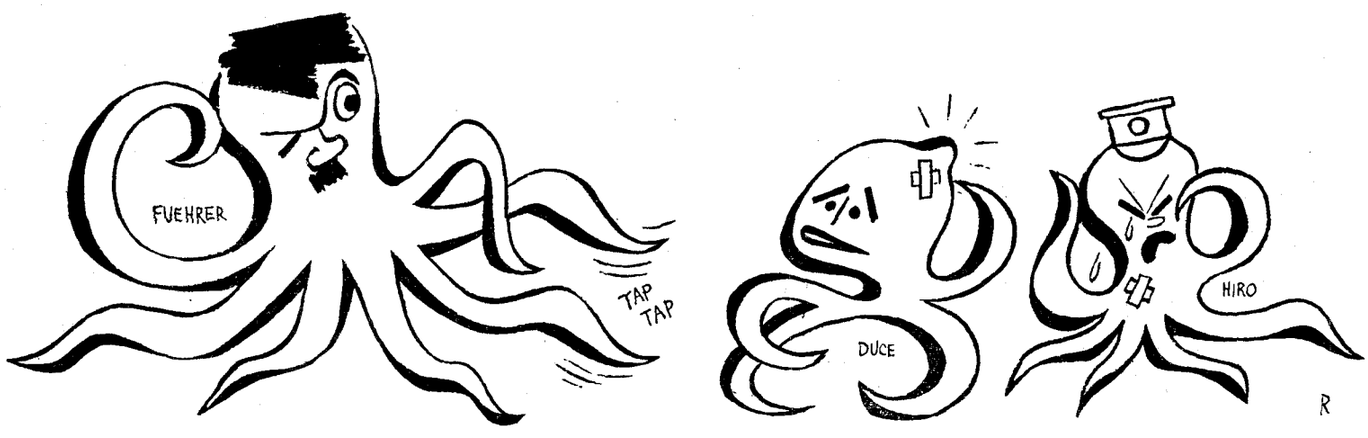
From Fort Worth, Texas: "The outfit here revolves around Amon G. Carter's clique. Tough babies who would almost rather eat their union man for breakfast than string up a black 'boy.'" Amon G. Carter is a Democratic party bigwig, close friend of John Nance Garner and of Jesse H. Jones, Secretary of Commerce and RFC chairman. He is the man who fired two shots into a crowded hotel elevator at the 1928 (Houston) Democratic convention because two or three full cars had passed his floor without stopping. He goes perpetually armed and is owner of the Fort Worth *Star-Telegram,* anti-union mouthpiece of the National Association of Manufacturers in the Southwest.

From East St. Louis, Mo.: "A lot of poor suckers are being dragged in under the impression that it is to supplement the State Guard. Steel mill foremen and similar straw bosses are the mobilizers and leaders."

Columbus, Ohio: "Mayor Floyd F. Green, at present up to his neck in helping Curtiss-Wright Aeronautical Corp. establish a 'yellow dog' shop in their new plant, and always a Chamber of Commerce stooge, is the real man back of the organization here. The Legion is also quite bold in announcing that they are concerned with establishing a 'surveillance over subversive activities' in accordance with former Nat'l. Comm. Raymond F. Kelly's order that Legion posts constitute themselves a secret corps to combat 'Fifth Column' activities."

Charlotte, N. C.: "When some damned fool ran a swastika flag up on the courthouse pole a few weeks back, all hell broke loose. Armed citizens flocked about all day and were at last 'organized' by the Legion boys. I understand that over 500 in this county alone (Mecklenburg) are drilling with arms lent by National Guard officers. Communists and Socialists are lumped with Nazis, due to Better Business Bureau and Chamber of Commerce publicity."

(Continued on page 18)



Rodney

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PRODUCED BY UMZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

And from the Northwest, from Eugene, Ore., comes a report that the group there is "the same crew, under the same leadership, that has been terrorizing union men for the past twenty years. They've got a new crusade now—Fifth Columnists—very respectable, and how they love it! They drill with shot guns and pistols twice a week."

Further evidence of the connection between big business and these vigilante groups comes from Washington. In Seattle, writes a correspondent, "the acknowledged head of the gang is Benjamin F. Smith, president of the Associated Growers of Washington and a labor-buster with a lurid record. *Smith has recently been appointed to the local draft board.*" [My italics. W. R.]

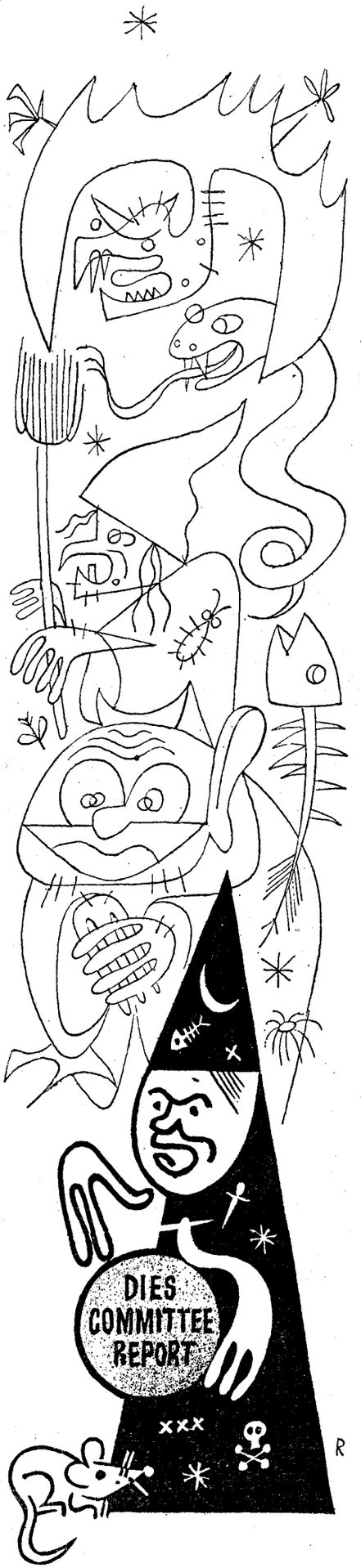
In Aberdeen, Wash.: "It is the gang everyone says killed Laura Law, wife of a CIO organizer, and no bones are made of the fact that it is aimed at union folk. Daniel McGillicuddy, Americanization officer of the Legion and Joe Schneider, president of the Better Business Bureau, are the ones who call the tune."

NEW YORK SPONSORS

There are many other letters but I think the idea is clear. Fortunately, or unfortunately (depending upon where one sits) the patriots who make up the majority of these local groups have money enough to finance their activity generously. For this reason it is impossible to learn if they are financed and directed from any central source. It is noteworthy, however, that every one of my correspondents puts the direction of the activity in one of two places: The Chamber of Commerce or the Legion leadership.

In New York I was told by a member of the organization who resigned that chief sponsors of the movement are Merwin K. Hart, Jeremiah Cross, and S. Stanwood Menken. Hart, head of a big business outfit, called the New York State Economic Council, was recently accurately labeled a fascist by Secretary of the Interior Ickes. Cross, assistant state attorney general, about two years ago when he was state commander of the Legion, called for storm troop action against the government. Menken was a defender of General Franco and was for years head of the National Security League, a big business pressure lobby which helped drag the United States into the first world war and was the subject of a congressional investigation. Menken is now a leading figure in the Council for Democracy which *In Fact* of December 2 exposed as another one of the Morgan utilities pressure groups.

The Staten Island group is typical. It consists almost without exception of men too old for military service. It has City Magistrate Charles G. Keutgen as president; professed patriot James French as secretary; Art O. Hedquist, ex-county Legion commander and executive secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, as head of its "physical education" committee. It meets in the parish house of a select church, uses the hall of a prominent club for a drill room, has the services of the American Legion band for the playing of march tunes, and leases a shooting range on which to practice pot shots at man-sized targets.



Rodney

Magistrate Keutgen is a virtuous protector of "Americanism." In 1939 he insisted that all the New Deal's reforms were un-American. He is a firm believer in the holiness of the Dies committee. French recently announced in the local press that the Minute Men were to support the proposition that "America is perfect, and we intend to keep it as it is." Keutgen early in November spoke to his men thus: "Minute Men can be called upon to guard . . . industrial plants, shipyards and . . . to report on subversive groups and *aid in their elimination.*" What would not be subversive to a man such as Keutgen who holds even the moderate reforms of the New Deal to be "un-American"?

The Staten Island organization reports 128 members. These are pitifully few to protect a hilly area fourteen miles by six miles (S.I.) from invading parachute troops, but just about enough to smash a picket line, blackjack peace mobilizers into conformity with "defense aims," lynch labor and other progressive leaders who refuse to knuckle under. Remember, these things happened in the last war. It is no accident that the Minute Men's march which I witnessed avoided the traditional parade route for Staten Island and wound its way through the back streets of a section heavily populated by the foreign born. This is what is known in vigilante circles as "putting the fear of God in 'em."

NEW YORK CHARTERS

The New York groups are "surveying the possibility of securing charters as auxiliary fire departments" according to the statement of a leader of the Richmond County organization. This is an admission by their organizers that they have no existence within the law. Here is a clever device (if successful) to attain legal respectability. Fire departments can do many things in "protecting life and property" beyond the mere dousing of flames and rescue of entrapped fire victims.

These vigilante groups are the product of the war and invasion hysteria created by President Roosevelt, and they take their inspiration directly from J. Edgar Hoover. They are symptomatic of trends, emanating from big business, that are increasingly shaping government policy. Bertrand Russell, despite his vehement advocacy of Britain's war, uttered a pertinent warning in a speech at Harvard on November 30. Said Russell: "There is really grave danger that America is fighting for noble causes abroad in a way that will cause them to be lost at home. . . . Foolish forms of nationalism are being encouraged in this country as a means of filching away your liberties while you are not looking." The causes abroad are, of course, no more noble than the domestic effects of fighting for them. It is clear that anti-fascists have their work cut out for them at home if it is not to happen here.

WELLINGTON ROE.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW MASSES
ESTABLISHED 1911

Editors
A. B. MAGIL, RUTH MCKENNEY, BRUCE MINTON, JOSEPH NORTH.

Associate Editor
BARBARA GILES.

Business Manager
CARL BRISTEL.

★

Harry Gannes

THERE were many thousands throughout the country who knew Harry Gannes only through his column in the *Daily Worker*, "World Front." But those thousands swore by it. It taught them to think and to understand the meaning of events in far-off places. And unlike similar columns in the commercial press, it was authoritative because it was written with Marxist insight born of more than twenty years' experience in the revolutionary movement. The readers of the *Daily Worker* showed their appreciation by voting it the most popular feature in the paper. And in the midst of his work Gannes found time to write two important books, *Spain in Revolt* (in collaboration with Theodore Repard) and *When China Unites*.

In the latter part of November 1939 Harry Gannes' column ceased to appear. He had been taken seriously ill with a tumor on the brain. Despite the gravity of his condition, the Roosevelt administration sought to prosecute him on a technical passport charge similar to that on which Earl Browder was convicted. The delicate tumor operation was complicated by pneumonia, and only Gannes' powerful physique enabled him to survive. He lingered on, bed-ridden, for over a year, always hoping against hope that he would be able to recover and return to the struggle. Last Saturday the end came. His death at the age of forty is a loss both to American journalism and to the labor movement. NEW MASSES extends its deepest sympathy to Harry Gannes' family and to his co-workers.

More About the "Peace" Talk

WHAT about Senator Wheeler's eight-point basis for "a just peace"? Wheeler has opposed most of the administration's steps toward war and has spoken up in defense of civil liberties. It is unfortunate, however, that instead of looking to the only force that can really bring about a just peace, the people of the belligerent countries and of the United States, he seeks the road to peace solely through action of the war-making governments. And in his Red-baiting against the Soviet Union, Senator Wheeler attacked the only power working for a truly just peace. Such a peace would mean not a new shuffling of the imperialist deck, as Senator Wheeler suggests, but the liberation of all the peoples enslaved by both belligerent groups.

Far more promising than any of these "peace" plans was the delegation of 100 representatives of progressive and trade union organizations which came to Washington over the past week-end under the auspices of the New York Peace Mobilization. Delegations from other cities are also arriving and demanding that Congress reject the Roosevelt lend-lease arms proposal and all other measures that lead to military involvement. Here in these men and women of the rank and file is the force, multiplied many times over in every part of the country, that can keep America out of war.

If peace manages to survive some of its alleged friends, it may yet overcome its avowed enemies. Last week, in an editorial article, "Guns Behind the 'Peace' Talk," we discussed some of these spurious friends. What has happened since merely confirms our analysis. If the war forces had deliberately hired Verne Marshall and his dummy No Foreign War Committee for the purpose of discrediting the whole idea of peace, he could not have done a better job for them. This loutish gentleman, who is supposed to be leading a movement sprung up out of the grass roots, revealed that his financial angel is the New York oil operator, William Rhodes Davis. Not content with this, he lets the world in on a sensational story—the details of which were published in the Washington Merry-Go-Round column last February—that Davis, who has had close connections with high Nazi officials, brought back with him from Germany in October 1939 peace "agenda" which were submitted to President Roosevelt. While this kettle of fish was still simmering on the fire, the mysterious Davis decided to tell all, the all consisting of a denial that he was backing the No Foreign War Committee, though he favored its aims, and a refusal to discuss his "peace" mission of 1939.

Senator Vandenberg also entered the lists with a statement in doubletalk to the British propaganda weekly, *Foreign Correspondence*. As nearly as one could gather, the Michigan senator, who has been an isolationist in the past, wants the United States to offer her own peace plan to both belligerents. If Germany should refuse, this country would greatly increase its aid to Britain even if it means going to war. Vandenberg's proposal is actually a scheme for getting the United States into the European conflict; it is similar to the secret plan formulated in February 1916 by Colonel House and the British Foreign Minister, Sir Edward Grey.

Pity Bill White

PITY poor William Allen White. He was only a small-town boy from out where the tall wheat grows. Last May he was sold a bill of goods by the city slickers from New York. Quicker than you can say J. P. Morgan, he was made chairman of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies. The sage of Emporia, Kan., from the heart of the isolationist country, fronting for the war-bent satraps of Wall Street. An old-fashioned Bull Moose radical—who never failed to vote for Harding, Coolidge, Hoover, Landon, Willkie—arm in arm with Thomas W. Lamont's merry men. A great idea.

Bill White didn't disappoint. With cash plentiful, the crusade against America's peace was launched with fervor and fury. Did the public object to American destroyers being sent to Britain? Bill White's committee turned on the heat and before long, despite law and Constitution, the destroyers were on their way. After the destroyers came the bombers. And after that the committee was all set to put over the idea of naval convoys, repeal of the Johnson and Neutrality acts, finally, the big plunge into the war itself. And all the while Bill White was very much at home at the White House, the State Department, and the British Embassy, not to mention the cosier Park Avenue shacks.

Then a couple of weeks ago Roy Howard asked him for a statement for the Scripps-Howard press. Bill White thought that since peace was so popular, it might be a good idea to come out for it in order to make the steps-to-war program more palatable. Whereupon the dead cats and rotten tomatoes began to fly from his own team. Mayor LaGuardia accused him of "doing a typical Laval." Unlike the over-age destroyers, the over-age mayor and his colleagues were in no danger of being shipped to Britain, but they couldn't see why that privilege should be denied to several million younger fry. And despite the efforts of Thomas W. Lamont to smooth things over—the Morgan partner does the real signal calling on the White committee—Bill White had to get out. It seems that even a tongue-in-the-cheek mention of the word "peace" can't be tolerated. The committee is now looking for a new cornfed glamour boy who will not talk out of turn.

Labor Round-Up

THE financial section of the New York *Times* knows its customers. When Louis Stark made a series of alarming New Year predictions in that paper, he knew what he was talking about. Every gain made by labor the past half century is menaced, he revealed. He ran the gamut, from the right to strike to the eight-hour day. On the latter, for example, he said, "Efforts will increase as time goes on to re-introduce the six-day work week of eight hours each without overtime rates after forty hours." The ink was hardly dry on his copy when FDR verified his prediction. The President delivered a body blow when he signed an executive order abandoning the eight-hour day on construction work on Caribbean naval bases. The action must be seen for what it is worth: a wedge against the eight-hour maximum under the Wage-Hour Act in all American industry. If the President, who has taken to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

soaring over boundaries and seas like a Douglas bomber could negate the eight-hour day by fiat in the Caribbean, he will soon seek to duplicate that fiat on the mainland.

Labor's right to strike—which Mr. Roosevelt assailed in his recent fireside chat—is perhaps dearest to all working men. The stooges of the jingoes within the ranks of labor, men like John P. Frey, president of the Metal Trades Department of the AFL, are willing to hand it up without a murmur. Mr. Frey and heads of thirteen international unions in his sector, have agreed to forego strikes in "national defense" industries if employers would agree "to arbitrate all differences." Shades of Samuel Gompers and 1917! The class collaboration ghost haunts the masses of American working men.

Coordinated with the assault on the right to strike is the drive upon the Wagner act. This is gathering momentum even though the Supreme Court supported a decision of the NLRB in the Heinz case, that an employer must put into written contract any agreements reached with a union in collective bargaining. The greatest menace to the Wagner act is the administration itself. It invites violations everywhere by being the greatest violator itself. The President in a recent press conference refused to state his position on governmental contracts to corporations which defy the Wagner act. He is consistent in his policy of awarding juicy contracts to such flagrant violators as Bethlehem Steel and Henry Ford. In fact Ford only the other day again flaunted his unwillingness to observe any regulations favorable to labor. Michael F. Widman, Jr., director of the United Auto Workers organizing campaign at Ford's, charged that the corporation has no intention of observing its agreement reached a fortnight before with federal conciliator James Dewey, to rehire 300 to 400 men laid off at the Lincoln and River Rouge plants. And no governmental sanctions are taken against the man who was the first American to receive a medal from Adolf Hitler.

Large sections of labor are aware of this offensive against them. Trade union delegations representing many CIO unions have gone to Washington to make known their feeling and to protest against legislative attacks on their rights by such measures as the Smith bill. The first few days of 1941 show what labor may expect the rest of this year. Only hard, relentless counter-activity will forestall the aims of the pro-war, anti-labor jingoes.

Private Jim Crow

AN EASY way to test the "democratic" character of the national defense program is to look into the Jim Crow military policy of the United States armed forces. In October President Roosevelt reaffirmed segregation of Negroes as official army procedure. Negro reserve officers have been passed over for promotion. Negro draftees are relegated to work battalions. Air corps, marine corps, chemical service, medical corps, engineering corps—all are closed to the Negro.

Ernest Calloway, educational director of the United Transport Service Employees of America (AFL), has asked exemption from the draft because of this discrimination. Mr. Calloway, whose union comprises red caps, has appealed from the decision of his local draft board placing him in Class 1-A, although he is single and without dependents, "until such time that my contribution and participation in the defense of my country can be made on a basis of complete equality." He protested "the practice of relegating special types of service to Negroes and refusing their service in other branches of the armed forces, as neither conducive to effective morale nor obeying the spirit and letter of the Constitution of the United States. To me, the present United States army is the most anti-democratic institution in American governmental life."

Colonel Hopkins

ALREADY he is being called Colonel Hopkins. And the evil memory of Colonel House hangs over him. Why is Harry Hopkins being sent to England? The great democrat in the White House cannot trust the people with the truth. More and more his is becoming a personal diplomacy, with a Colonel Donovan and a Harry Hopkins acting as invisible ambassadors, beyond the reach even of the State Department. Whom will Hopkins see in England, what promises will he make? This man, once known as a social idealist, today is entrusted with a mission of cynical intrigue and imperialist haggling. It is the old Wilsonian game of secret covenants secretly arrived at. In 1915 Colonel House went to Europe as Wilson's personal emissary. It took him two years before he was able to bring the United States into the war. He has put it all down in painstaking detail in his *Intimate Papers,* published eleven years after the war. How long must America wait to learn the truth about the machinations of the new Colonel House?

Mexico Marches

THE dispatches from Mexico come fast and furious these days. One morning's news stories tell of Plutarco Calles, ex-dictator, on his way back from exile. Almost simultaneously the dispatches speak of *El Popular,* the organ of the Mexican Trade Union Confederation, blasting away at Portes Gil and his Wall Street backers. Another day we read that the tramway workers in Mexico City have voted to strike against the Mexican Light & Power Co., a corporation owned by Canadian and Belgian capitalists. Then elsewhere in the papers is the report that President Avila Camacho has appointed three reactionaries to the Supreme Court.

Reaction's advances arouse the people to counter measures. As Joseph North pointed out in his recent series, "All the elements are present in Mexico for a great national resurgence." Although Camacho has gone so far to the right that he sees nothing amiss in allowing Calles to return, the working men and their peasant allies have another point of view. They are rolling up their sleeves. Witness the call to strike by the traction workers; witness the plans for a sympathy strike by 80,000 mine workers on behalf of their fellow miners in the Sabinas Coal Mine in Coahuila where they have been out for six months for some meager improvements in their life.

El Popular's exposure of Portes Gil and American imperialism has been long awaited by the trade unionists. The labor paper spoke of the "Yankee finance sharks" swarming in Mexican economic waters to gobble up the native trade. Only last week NEW MASSES quoted from Gen. Robert E. Wood's statement that this government would be "prepared to use force" to get its way below the Rio Grande. The General said, "The development of Mexico alone would afford an outlet for our capital and energies for some time to come." The lines are quite clear: Yankee imperialism is ready to move with all the force of a nine-inch shell. But there is not enough artillery in the world to blast a continent full of people from their will to sovereignty. The Mexican people have shown their mettle in the past, as Maximilian learned, as Porfirio Diaz discovered, as the Rockefellers found out in 1938. They have not been consulted on the recent concessions made to reaction internally and externally. Zapato's folk will have their say.

Ireland

BRITISH apologists often cite Ireland's decision to stay out of the war as proof of the democratic character of the empire. But the evidence accumulates that Churchill, with Roosevelt's help, is putting the screws on Ireland, literally forcing her into the war. From January 22 on, according to a new British ruling, all exports from Ireland will be subject to British blockade control. This follows a recent licensing order against the import of citrus fruits and cattle feed to the Gaelic isle. By considering Ireland a neutral, instead of a British dominion, Churchill is actually undermining her neutrality, for Irish economy is extremely vulnerable to control of her sea-going commerce. The British are after Irish naval bases, especially Lough Swilly in the north. Most of Britain's trans-Atlantic shipping flows past the northern Irish shore, and the use of such bases for anti-submarine patrol and aircraft depots would facilitate Britain's desperate struggle against Germany's undersea raiding.

Judging from the recent fireside chat, Mr. Roosevelt has more than a hand in this pressure on the de Valera government. The navy is insisting that American destroyers must not be expected to convoy goods across the ocean, as the British are asking, unless

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

safe harbors are provided as far out in the Atlantic as possible. Undoubtedly also, Mr. Roosevelt has Ireland in mind as a possible base for American troops and material at some later stage in the war. This is certainly one of the little matters which Colonel Donovan is trying to settle on his secret mission abroad.

Meanwhile, Ireland had a taste of air warfare last week when German planes—it is charged—dropped bombs in the Dublin vicinity. Just why the Germans should have given de Valera this excuse for anger is not clear. It has even been suggested that the bombings are really a British provocation. But some commentators believe that Germany is actually trying to force de Valera's hand. That would be on the assumption that British energies expended in provisioning Ireland and landing troops would balance out Britain's advantage in protecting her trans-Atlantic commerce. Troop landings on Irish soil, in addition, would fan all the historic irritations between London and Dublin.

Eamon de Valera, the Irish president, has been caught between the deep popular desire to stay out of war, and his own effort to extract concessions from England. The British Tories will certainly have to pay a stiff price to induce de Valera to run the gauntlet of public opinion at home. Ireland's dilemma, and Britain's dilemma, are a commentary on the 700 years of British oppression of the Gaels. This is a complex of antagonisms which the ruling classes can never solve. Ireland's position is proof of how meaningless the independence of small nations becomes when the brontosauri of imperialism are locked in their bloody embrace.

Arrests in India

"AZAD" is a word that means "free" in India. But fifty-three-year-old Maulana Azad, the president of the All-India National Congress, has just lost his freedom, arrested by British authorities in Allahabad for his opposition to the war. He is, after Jawaharlal Nehru, the most prominent Indian leader incarcerated in the recent months. His arrest is of particular importance, first because of the high office he occupies, second, because he is a Moslem and famed throughout the Moslem world as a scholar, third, because he was in no sense of the radical wing of the Congress. In fact, Maulana Azad was among its most moderate leaders. Most Americans have their eyes fixed on western Europe, especially Britain. But in faraway India, British authorities are conducting a most merciless assault on the leaders and organizations of the Indian people. Unknown thousands of men and women have been arrested in the last ten weeks; 5,000 were arrested on November 14 alone, Nehru's fifty-first birthday. India fast approaches a state of open warfare. What is happening there not only exposes the pretensions under which Britain's rulers fight this war, but will soon culminate to destroy the foundations of imperialism as a system throughout Asia.

The Week Abroad

IT WAS more difficult than ever last week to form a reasoned and balanced judgment of events in Europe. Precise information is rare. The censorship and the innumerable *double-entendres* of the "semi-official sources" combined to veil Europe in a dense fog. One must insist in one's thinking on the general lines of movement, the long-term trends. One must consider not only the four major powers: Britain, Germany, the Soviet Union and the increasing weight of the United States but also the minor powers. And then there is a factor which we know least about: the state of mind and the readiness to action among the peoples of the neutral and belligerent nations. This factor will be decisive before the war is out.

Paradoxically, more can be said this week about the lesser powers, such as Italy. Her military campaigns in Egypt and Albania have now resulted in definite defeats. With the fall of Bardia last week in the northeastern corner of Lybia, British naval and land forces have shown their strength and initiative. Large quantities of *materiel* and upwards of 25,000 prisoners have been captured. Mussolini's *"drang nach* Suez" is done for the present; he is on the defensive in his own empire. The differences within the Italian ruling class must intensify, and the disillusion of the Italian people will spread.

Deep snows and the doubling of Italian troops in Albania have slowed the Greeks, but their pressure on the line from Khimara to Elbasan continues. In case of a break through, the Italians stand to lose the whole southern part of Albania with Valona included. No wonder then that Italian airforces have been withdrawn from the English channel. No wonder Rome admits that German planes are transporting troops over the Adriatic Sea, and thousands of technicians plus a full Nazi air squadron are operating from Italy itself. The vassalization of Italy continues.

All of this serves to make France a most pivotal power for both sides in this war. If Hitler ever intends to break into Africa, now more than ever he must insist upon the co-operation of the French fleet, naval bases, and troops. This gives dramatic contrast to Admiral Leahy's arrival in Vichy, for Britain and the United States are working hard to thwart the Nazis in France. The French bourgeoisie is delaying cooperation with Germany in the hope that the spring may clarify the trend of the war. Several days ago, for example, control of the French colony of Syria was unified under General Maxime Weygand, who is stationed in north Africa. The last of the pro-Latin bloc in the Vichy cabinet, Paul Bauduoin, has been dismissed. Reports are that a super-Cabinet consisting of Pierre Etienne-Flandin, Admiral Francois Darlan and General Huntzinger will take hold of the reins in Vichy. These are the strongest men French reaction has to offer; they must co-operate with Germany, of course, but they are exploiting Mussolini's debacle to get the best possible terms for themselves. It is probable, therefore, that the Germans will lose patience and, impelled by the larger need of getting into Africa before American help to Britain expands, Hitler may risk internal dangers in France to deal more roughly with Vichy than he would otherwise prefer.

But it is in the Balkans where one sees most clearly Germany's transition from diplomatic activity to physical action. Tens of thousands of Nazi troops have taken over Rumania; the entire economy of that country has been placed at German disposal. Many correspondents report chaotic internal conditions. There is a fierce people's resistance to the Antonescu regime, especially among the railway workers where, incidentally, the Rumanian Communist Party has always had strength. But the main German forces face across the Danube toward Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. From the visit of the Bulgarian Premier, Bogden Philoff, to Germany, it is clear that the Nazi effort to secure Bulgarian adherence to the tripartite pact (which broke down after Molotov's return from Berlin) is now being renewed. The Bulgarian ruling class is torn asunder. The entrance of German troops would mean the end of Bulgaria's neutrality. When it is recalled that the Bulgarian peasant and workingclass movement has reached a higher ideological and organizational level than anywhere else in the Balkans, the outcome of the struggle within Bulgaria might be disastrous for its ruling circles.

As usual, Hitler has an immediate and a larger purpose. Immediately, Germany wishes Bulgaria to become an instrument for isolating Yugoslavia, outflanking Greece, and immobilizing Turkey. If successful, Hitler expects to handle the situation in Greece, either by a campaign or a forced peace, such as would oust the British from their Greek foothold on the continent and restore the possibility of using Greek naval positions against the British in the eastern Mediterranean. In this same way, Hitler hopes to make Turkey's commitment to England untenable. In the larger sense, by impressing Vichy with the strength of his position, Hitler undoubtedly intends to secure the use of French forces in north Africa and Syria—to continue the offensive against Suez which Mussolini has so badly bungled.

And with a success at Suez, Hitler believes he might be able to force a truce from the British Tories.

As for the Soviet Union: certainly, its interests coincide with the general interest of the Balkan people to keep the war from their frontiers. Nor need it be doubted that the USSR is fully capable of defending the inviolability of its own. Soviet policy, it would seem to us, will be determined by the probability of a long and exhaustive imperialist war. Germany's southward movement faces every conceivable obstacle in terrain, and in the resistance of the Balkan peoples. It is even further to Suez than it is across the English channel.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

REVIEW AND COMMENT

Who Killed the Federal Theater?

Not the thousands who were employed by it nor the millions to whom it brought pleasure and entertainment. A review of Hallie Flanagan's history of the theater project.

ARENA, *by Hallie Flanagan. Duell, Sloan & Pearce. New York. $3.*

THIS history of the Federal Theater Project—the brilliantly significant story of the birth, life, and death of our first nationally subsidized theater—has been intelligently and sympathetically set down by the woman who was its national administrator, Hallie Flanagan.

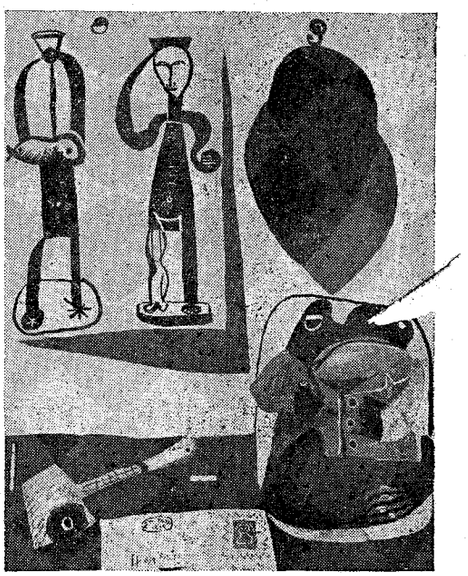
She calls her book *Arena,* and supplies Roget's synonyms: they are apt: "theater, seat-of-war, battle-field—ground, field-of-battle—slaughter; no man's land." For Federal Theater, which started as theater, continued as a battle-field and ended in a slaughter. And while it lived it offered everlasting proof of the necessity for a people's theater, of the incomparable shot-in-the-arm such a theater could provide for the ever-dying-ever-living stage in America. Called to Washington in May of 1935, Miss Flanagan, who had a long and solid reputation as a student of the stage and director of dramatics at Vassar, was handed the job of organizing and bringing into existence a nationally-subsidized theater that was to be, in the words of Harry Hopkins, "a free, adult, uncensored theater."

Federal Theater picked up off the streets, out of the rooming houses, the relief rolls, the casting agents' offices, thousands upon thousands of unemployed but employable (that was the criterion) theater workers—actors, directors, scene designers, stage hands, electricians, playwrights, stage managers, dancers, seamstresses, puppeteers, musicians, lighting experts, and it rehabilitated them. It was an administrative job without parallel in the field of the arts, and despite headaches, arguments, and opposition, it succeeded. Thousands of these people who, through the instrumentality of the sound moving pictures, the radio, the death of the road, the technologies in the entertainment field, had found themselves unable to compete in the rapidly shrinking theater field, were put upon stages again and told to act. And act they did.

Hallie Flanagan

They acted in every important city of the country; they acted in small towns, in schools, in empty lots; circuses toured the hinterlands, dance groups set up stage in mining camps; hospital wards saw performers of all sorts; little children in the Ozarks who had never owned a doll made their own under the direction of marionette masters, and played with them. The rusty skills of aging actors were retrained and put to use, restoring their possessors to human dignity and usefulness. The untrained skills of young players were vitalized in the new auditoria the FTP set up and operated from coast to coast and gulf to border. Millions, literally millions, who had never seen live actors upon a stage, sat in rapt contemplation of one of the oldest of human arts, the art of mimicry. In Florida, where a musical comedy was being performed, nobody laughed. "What's the matter?" said the director to his audience. "Don't you like it? Why don't you laugh? Why don't you clap?" An old lady replied, "We'd like to laugh but we're afraid to interrupt the living actors. It don't seem polite. We'd like to clap, but we don't know when."

The Federal Theater encountered opposition at its very inception. In the very beginning Actors' Equity was not particularly cooperative: it could not operate audition boards; it refused, for "a good many reasons," to sponsor one or more units of Federal Theater. Managers were timid and afraid of competition. "Mr. Brock Pemberton," writes Mrs. Flanagan, "said publicly that the whole idea that the government could produce plays with relief talent was absurd, that there was no such thing as talent on relief rolls, that no curtain would ever rise on a government show, and that should a curtain rise no one would come to see a show put on by 'down-and-out-ers.'" Mr. John Golden shared this opinion, and wrote to the New York *Times* that "it is my fear . . . that most of those put on in New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, and other large cities may not conform to professional standards and so do more harm than good to the theater as an institution." Miss Eva Le Gallienne informed a Town Hall audience that she was personally "terrified by the large sums of money being given by the government to assist dramatic work in this nation. . . . It is a vast mistake to feed the people of the nation upon very malnutritious and downright bad food when they can get the best food." (The ultimate failure of her own Civic Repertory Theater on Fourteenth Street should have taught Miss Le Gallienne better; even at her lowered prices, not enough people could afford "the best food" she was offering.)



"STILL LIFE WITH FROG." *A painting by Hananiah Harari from his current show at the Pinocotheca, New York City.*

Nevertheless the curtains did rise. And people did come to them. From May 1936 through June 1939, curtains rose in thirty-one states and the District of Columbia. At the peak of FTP employment, over 12,000 people were working. By the end, 63,728 performances had been given to over 30,000,000 spectators who had paid almost $2,000,000 in low-price admissions! The stage in America was given a stimulus that was registered in every box office throughout the land, commercial or non-commercial.

Never in the theatrical history of our country had there been so great a cultural upsurge as that represented by the Federal Arts projects, of which FTP was but one. Among the classical and modern productions you will find every important dramatist from Shakespeare to Philip Barry, including the Scandinavian. The people wanted the theater and they want it now, but the Federal Theater

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is dead, killed by Act of Congress on June 30, 1939. From the first opposition that met it, with the attempted production of the living newspaper, *Ethiopia,* through the cause-celebres of Sinclair Lewis' *It Can't Happen Here* (which opened simultaneously in twenty-one theaters throughout the land, and played, in its various adaptations and languages a total of 260 weeks!) to Marc Blitzstein's *Cradle* (killed on its opening night), the forces inimical to the cultural progress of our country were at work to destroy the Federal Theater.

"It was significant," writes Mrs. Flanagan, "that hundreds of thousands of people all over America crowded in to see a play which says that when dictatorship threatens a country it does not necessarily come by way of military invasion, that it may arrive in the form of a sudden silencing of free voices." Whether Mrs. Flanagan now perceives the direct connection between this acute statement and the forces that killed Federal Theater I do not know, for at many points in her otherwise excellent book, she seems startlingly naive. She seems to ascribe the death (say rather, murder) of the FTP to party politics, to fear, to puritanism, to cultural and political stupidity. It is true that the murder was engineered by men who are cultured and political ignoramuses—Martin Dies, Joseph Starnes, the Messrs. Holt, Woodrum, Thomas, Reynolds, Dirksen. It is true that even the President expressed "regret" over the death that met Federal Theater in the face of the most widespread support any cultural institution in our country ever received from the American people. Miss Flanagan seems largely to feel that the extinction of these projects was the result of some anomalous "reaction developing throughout the country . . . against many aspects of the Washington administration. . . ." These aspects were, "notably the spending policy, the liberal attitude toward labor, aliens, and members of minority parties. . . . The Federal Theater cost money; it represented labor unions, old and new; it did not bar aliens or members of minority parties. In other words . . . [it] represented a small but graphic example of the administration's characteristics, which were regarded, of course, as defects by all enemies of that administration." But Miss Flanagan does not specify the nature of this "reaction," nor name the enemies of the administration—was it, could they have been the overwhelming majority of our people who returned Roosevelt to office in 1936? Or is it, are they, the same forces, *within* as well as without the administration (and not excluding the President himself) that have nullified the original New Deal, destroyed WPA and most of its works, and are now actively engaged in urging, cajoling, leading, and pushing us down the road to war? In other words, those forces that "may arrive in the form of a sudden silencing of free voices."

Federal Theater had been, for a time, a powerful voice in safeguarding a progressive democracy. It had been anti-fascist with a vengeance *(It Can't Happen Here, Professor*

Cabals and Addicts

Have you heard about Zaleshoff, the mystery-thriller hero of **Cause for Alarm** and **Background to Danger,** adventure novels which swept Eric Ambler, a young Englishman, into the front rank of "whodunit" authors. NEW MASSES has been looking long for something to satisfy the voracious appetites of the detective story devotees. It found it in these two swift books about intrigue in southern Europe—cabals of the arms merchants, Cliveden machinations, Ovra and Gestapo terror.

Each of these books is a "must" for mystery addicts. NEW MASSES offers them both together with a one-year's subscription or renewal to NM for **$6.00.** (If only one book is wanted, the price is $5.50.)

NEW MASSES—461 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

Enclosed please find.....for which you may send me Eric Ambler's **Cause for Alarm** and **Background to Danger** plus one year of **NEW MASSES.**

Name .....

Address .....

City..... State.....

NM-1-14-41

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BUNDLES FOR AMERICA

As a proper bundle should, NEW MASSES ties together worthwhile things: comment and criticism by world-famous writers, lucid Marxist news analyses, and trenchant coverage of all fields of culture.

Distribution of NEW MASSES bundles by partisans of peace and democracy is a fast-growing national custom. They get their bundles from NEW MASSES at the following rates: up to 25 copies at 10c each, 25-50 copies at 9c each, and over 50 at 8c each. If they can't get around to passing out the copies themselves, NEW MASSES does all the work of addressing, wrapping and mailing the separate copies without any increase in rates.

NEW MASSES itself likes to bundle. It has a long list of people who ought to be getting copies. There are many old friends who had to drop subscriptions when they lost their jobs; and a thumping number of people who have been nominated for sample copies by their friends. NM cannot afford to do this bundling without help from its readers.

Here are the three ways to Bundle for America:

1. Send NM the price of a bundle you want to distribute yourself.
2. Send NM the price (no increase) of a bundle and the names and addresses of people to whom you want the copies sent.
3. Send NM the price of a bundle to be distributed to people on NM's list.

★

Mamlock); it had picked up and projected on the stage the President's remarks about *one third of a nation;* it had attacked slums and undernourishment, the depression *(Class of '29),* it had satirized dictatorship, extolled Abraham Lincoln *(Prologue to Glory),* examined the history of labor relationships *(Injunction Granted),* public utilities *(Power),* poor farmers *(Triple A Plowed Under),* politicians *(On the Rocks),* reactionaries in the medical profession. The examination, uncensored and provocative, of these subjects, did not meet with the approval of those powers that be who have so long imposed their will upon the people, stifled their free expression, divided and ruled them, and are now bent upon destroying what vestiges remain of those rights extolled in the *Ballad for Americans* (which first found expression in the FTP musical, *Sing for Your Supper).*

These facts are implicit in Miss Flanagan's history of the project, and expressed in her conclusion, with which no one could disagree: "Its significance lies in its pointing to the future. The ten thousand anonymous men and women—the et ceteras and the and-so-forths who did the work, the nobodies who were everybody, the somebodies who believed it—their dreams and deeds were not the end. They were the beginning of a people's theater in a country whose greatest plays are still to come." Only, there is a lot of rehearsing to be done before the curtain will rise again.

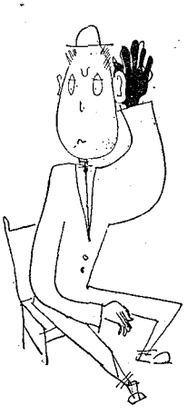
ALVAH BESSIE.

US Observer

TWIN STARS OF CHINA, *by Evans Fordyce Carlson. Dodd, Mead & Co. $3.00.*

THE book-jacket biography of Major Carlson, a former US marine officer, records his assistance to "the Nicaraguan government in organizing and training the military and police force in that country where he was awarded the Navy Cross for 'extraordinary heroism' while leading a contingent of the Guardia Nacional against the forces of the rebel, Sandino." Sandino was a guerrilla leader and we may presume that it was in this service that Major Carlson's interest in guerrilla fighting began.

Twin Stars of China is the account of Major Carlson's experiences as an observer



Clinton

WHAT is happening?
WHY is it happening?

Get a Basic Understanding of World Events

MARXISM-LENINISM

Principles of Communism, History CPSU, Dialectical Materialism, Political Economy, American History & Capital.

SPECIAL COURSES

Negro Question, Imperialism & World Politics, Current Events, Mimeograph Technique, Soviet Democracy, Labor Journalism, English, Russian.

Other courses. Write for catalog.

WORKERS SCHOOL
35 East 12th St. AL. 4-1199

1940 NEW MASSES IN THREE BOUND VOLUMES

$4.00

At no more than the bare cost of binding, NM readers may get these three volumes, beautifully bound, containing the 52 issues of NM for 1940.

This offer is good for only ten days. Readers wanting to take advantage of it should immediately fill out this order:

NEW MASSES, 461 Fourth Ave., N. Y. C.
Gentlemen:
Enclosed find $4.00 for which please send me the three volumes of the 1940 NM.
Name . . . . . .
Address . . . . . .
City . . . . . State . . .
1-14-41

A. B. MAGIL

A *New Masses* editor who is an outstanding interpreter of world events. He first exposed Father Coughlin back in 1934-35, and his two pamphlets, *The Truth About Father Coughlin* and *The Real Father Coughlin,* sold more than 300,000 copies. He is co-author of the book, *The Peril of Fascism: The Crisis of American Democracy,* considered the most comprehensive study of fascist tendencies in the United States. His recent *New Masses* articles on the Roosevelt administration and on Stalin evoked widespread comment. Mr. Magil is available for lecture dates.

Write or call
JEAN STANLEY
New Masses Lecture Service
461 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. C. CA 5-3076

Please mention NEW MASSES *when patronizing advertisers*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

For the Truth Behind the Headlines

To subscribe to

NEW MASSES

just fill out and mail this form

NEW MASSES, 461 FOURTH AVE., N. Y. C.
Please enter my subscription to New Masses for the period indicated by the checkmark.

☐ $5.00—One year

☐ $2.75—6 months

☐ Special 2 year Rate $8.00: SAVINGS $2.00

☐ Special 3 year Rate $11.00: SAVINGS $4.00

☐ Special 7 year Rate $25.00: SAVINGS $10.00

☐ Special Life Rate $100.00

Name.....

Address.....

City.....State.....

1-14-41

for the US Navy with the Chinese troops. His itinerary traversed most of the vastly extended battle lines in China and important districts behind the lines. His observations included the activities which are transforming the country in the very heat of the conflict—the quickened maturing of a national consciousness, the setting up of industrial cooperatives, the refugee migration of 40,000,000 quitting the invaded regions to live in a free China, the new relations between army and people, the guerrilla warfare which has nullified the invaders' advances, keeping them ineffective beyond the points actually garrisoned.

The twin stars referred to in the title are the twelve-pointed Kuomintang star and the five-pointed Red Star. Major Carlson admires Chiang Kai-shek and feels that his work for China's national unity is central in the Chinese effort. He also believes that the Chinese Communists by their concern and work for the people, providing the magnificent examples of democratic administration in the districts they control, and the effectiveness of the workers and peasants army in the campaigning of their Eighth Route Army, making the people feel that the fight is their fight, organizing them and stimulating their fervor and initiative, have provided the method and strength with which resistance could succeed. These, in fact, have so far offset the loss of coasts, railroads, and important towns that, in Major Carlson's opinion, China is stronger today than at the beginning of the war.

In his preface Major Carlson writes: "I was particularly interested in China's Communist Party for it seemed to possess characteristics quite different from the type of doctrine which we have come to associate with Russia." Some day Major Carlson may arrive at the understanding that the associations which produce the supposed differences are of the same order as those which, in the propaganda of Chinese reactionaries, associated the Chinese Communists with "bandits," etc. Major Carlson avoids references to the Soviet part in China's struggle and when he mentions any Soviet item he becomes rigidly noncommittal; not a word of comment accompanies the facts which are entered with a bookkeeper's brevity.

From both viewpoints of the author—as a military man and one interested in the victory of democracy—the book is an acknowledgment of the great work of the Chinese Communists. Along with the avowals of democracy throughout the book go acknowledgments that both in practice and principle the Chinese Communists constitute the forefront of democracy in China. Similarly, as a military man, Major Carlson, noting that Chinese strength lay in the numbers and morale of the people, makes acknowledgment of the great services of the Chinese Communists in showing how to organize the numbers and build their morale, thus showing and leading the way to stand off, stalemate, and move into positions to defeat the Japanese.

Finally, Major Carlson insists that "China

NM Book Service

SOME READERS order their books straight from NM's "Review and Comment." Others like to browse a bit before buying. But regardless of the method they prefer, all will be excited over the time-and-effort saving ***NM BOOK SERVICE*** which we inaugurate with this issue.

From now on ***NM*** readers may order any book of any publisher directly through NEW MASSES. The ***NM BOOK SERVICE*** will pay all shipping costs.

By dealing exclusively with ***NM BOOK SERVICE,*** our readers will give another push toward helping NEW MASSES solve its financial problems.

Make the ***NM BOOK SERVICE*** your local bookstore!

Send your book orders, accompanied by check or money order to ***NM BOOK SERVICE, 461 Fourth Ave., New York, N. Y.***

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HIT THE TOP at HOTEL ALLABEN
LAKEWOOD NEW JERSEY
303—7th St.
THE HOUSE OF WINTER ACTIVITY
Phone Lakewood 819
TOPS IN FOOD
TOPS IN FACILITIES—Every Room with Bath-Showers.
TOPS IN ACTIVITIES—Badminton, Ping-Pong, Volley Ball, Horse-Shoe Pitching, Bicycles on Premises, etc.
But NO TOPS in Rates—We're Very Moderate
Director: Jack Schwartz, formerly of Unity Hotel

THE SPORT CENTER OF THE EAST
TRIPLE LAKE RANCH
SUCCASUNNA, N.J.
Get acquainted with this popular nearby resort ● Free Horseback Riding Instruction ● All Winter Sports ● Well-heated accommodations ● Special winter rate without horseback riding. Only 37 miles from N. Y.
N. Y. Phone: TR 5-2163

PLUM POINT
the year round vacation resort
Magnificent estate on the Hudson River
Only 53 miles from New York
All outdoor sports Saddle horses on grounds
Fine Library Superlative cuisine Musical recordings
Booklet Sent on Request
Write P. O. Box 471, Newburgh, N. Y. Phone Newburgh 4270
MAKE RESERVATIONS NOW!

MAMANASCO LAKE LODGE
RIDGEFIELD, CONN. PHONE: 820
A luxurious estate converted into a vacation paradise. New, modern, convenient. Magnificent lake. All winter sports — Golf — Riding — Ping-Pong. Sumptuous cuisine. 50 miles from N. Y.
OPEN ALL YEAR 'ROUND

ROYALE-HARMONY
Formerly Unity and Royale Hotel
MAKE YOUR RESERVATIONS NOW!
Ideal place for your winter vacation—"Tops" in entertainment. All winter sports—FREE BICYCLING, excellent cuisine. 501 Monmouth Ave., Lakewood, N. J. Tel. Lakewood 1159, 1146
Management: Gross, Gelbaum and Broude

In Forthcoming Issues of NEW MASSES!!!
THE REAL ENGLAND
by William Gallacher, M. P.
INSIDE FRANCO SPAIN
by Cesar Falcon
BOLIVIA
by Frank T. Baker

possessed the capacity and the willingness to check Japan's will to power if America and the democracies of the West would cease providing Japan with the sinews of war: iron, steel, petroleum." For making these things clear, Major Carlson's book, which has the vividness of an eyewitness account, is a valuable one.

ISIDOR SCHNEIDER.

Anti-Semitism

WHERE HOPE LIES, *by Leo Schwartz. Farrar & Rinehart, New York. $1.50.*

IN THIS study of anti-Semitism, Mr. Schwartz dispels numerous myths about "instinctive anti-Semitism," about the spurious theory that the Jews are united internationally against the non-Jewish world, and the fallacy that a policy of silence will appease the enemies of the Jew. Mr. Schwartz exposes anti-Semitic activity as a political weapon, giving several new instances, including a story of how Mussolini reversed Italian policy under political pressure. The section which reveals the true condition of the Jews in Poland before the present war is especially worth while, although the author does not tell how pogroms and economic discrimination were brought to an end when the Soviet Union liberated part of Polish territory in October 1939.

Mr. Schwartz appraises anti-Semitism as an instrument in the struggle for power by fascist groups in all countries, including our own. But he fails to carry his theory to its logical conclusion, overlooking the fact that the economic forces in America, quite as much as in Germany or Italy, are prepared to employ anti-Jewish prejudice to serve their ends. His is an approach which regards General Van Horn Moseley and Father Coughlin as the only enemies of the American Jew.

The result is that although he correctly asks for unity in defense of democracy and its extension to the defense of all minority groups, including Negroes, he is led toward support of a war waged by reactionaries in Britain and the United States against reactionaries in Germany as the only solution. To bolster this argument, he offers the false notion that Britain is in process of democratization under Churchill. As a matter of cold fact, the British government is centralized within a group of industrial and financial magnates, several of whom have had direct connections with Hitler and most of whom are in essence fascist sympathizers—including Lord Halifax.

If Mr. Schwartz saw the rotten economic core at the center of the anti-Semitic poisoned apple, he would realize that war, instead of making anti-Semitism unpatriotic, can only lead to further oppression of minority groups, including, of course, the Jews. Mr. Schwartz's fierce cry for more and better democracy must be applauded, but as he removes several beams from other people's eyes, he must remove at least one from his own.

JAMES MORISON.

NEW MASSES Classified
50c a line. Payable in Advance. Min. charge $1.50
Approx. 7 words to a line. Deadline Fri. 4 p.m.

FURS

SKILLED FUR CRAFTSMAN offers you exceptionally low rates on custom made coats and jackets. Remodeling and Repairing done to perfection. Try us. ARMAND ET SOEUR, 145 West 30 St., CH ickering 4-1424.

INSURANCE

Whatever your needs — PAUL CROSBIE, established since 1908—FREQUENT SAVINGS, 135 William St., N. Y. Tel. BE ekman 3-5262.

REGISTRATION—SCHOOLS—INSTRUCTION

WRITING TAUGHT BY WRITERS. An unusual opportunity for those who want to learn how to write short stories, radio scripts, juveniles, poetry, articles, journalism, publicity, etc. Small classes, taught by professional writers, allow individual criticism and guidance in marketing. Modest fees. Catalogue mailed on request. Register now for winter term. Writers' School, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York City. MU 6-8790.

WORKERS SCHOOL. Winter Term Registration! Complete program of Marxist-Leninist courses. Room 301, 35 East 12 Street, N. Y. C.

VOLUNTEERS FOR NEW MASSES WANTED

NEW MASSES would be grateful for VOLUNTEER clerical HELP in circulation campaign. Apply Room 1204, 461 Fourth Ave., N. Y. C.

WEARING APPAREL

"VALUES NOT LABELS" at MISS GOODMAN'S who is having a special reduction on all her exclusive Model Dresses, Coats and Stunning Dinner and Evening Gowns, 474 7th Av. (36 St.) LA 4-4013.

GOINGS ON

JOSEPH STAROBIN, foreign editor NEW MASSES, analyzes the week's news Sunday, January 12, 8:30 P.M. Workers School, 50 East 13 Street. 25 cents.

ANSWER TO HEMINGWAY, by the men who fought in Spain. Symposium on the book "For Whom the Bell Tolls." Saturday, January 11, 2 P.M. Speakers: John Gates, Milton Wolff, Walter Garland, David McKelvey White, Alvah Bessie, Irving Goff. Discussion from the floor. Workers School, 50 East 13 Street. 25 cents. Part proceeds Spanish Rescue Ship.

JOSEPH NORTH
Editor of NEW MASSES
Who has just returned from Mexico
will address the
NM READERS LEAGUE FORUM
—on—
"LATIN AMERICA AND NATIONAL DEFENSE"
FRIDAY, JANUARY 10
8:30 P.M.
Steinway Hall, 113 W. 57 St., Studio 608
All members and friends of the Readers League are invited. Admission Free.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEWS of the
PEOPLES CONVENTION
in ENGLAND!
The People's Convention
to be held on January 12th, 1941
for a
PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT
A CALL to all working men and women; Socialists, trade unionists and Co-operators; professional and intellectual workers, small shop-keepers, small business-men and farmers, democrats and anti-fascists; in short, to all workers by hand and brain.

ON January 12th there will be a great People's Convention for a People's Peace in England. Leaders in the trade unions, the cooperative movement, the farm organizations, world-famous figures in the field of art and science, supported by millions of the British people, have sent out the call for this Convention. The "unseen censor" of the Wall Street press will either keep news of this Convention from you, or misrepresent it. The press does not want America to know that while our Administration drives us deeper into the war, the British people are organizing to rid themselves of a government which fights not for the defense of the people, but to save their profits and their empire. Yet there is one newspaper which will give voice to the British people who today are calling this Convention to protect their living standards, their liberties, and their lives, and to defend themselves against imperialist war and fascism both from without and from within. For complete and accurate news of the great People's Convention in England, read the *Daily Worker!*

5c At Your Newsstand

For sample copy and subscription rates write the Daily Worker, 50 East 13 Street, New York, N. Y.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"No for an Answer"

Marc Blitzstein's new opera reveals an abundant and ever-growing talent. Labor finds its composer. A musical saga of American working men.

THE talents of Marc Blitzstein, who won acclaim for *The Cradle Will Rock,* have ripened and become enriched in his new play *No for an Answer* which opened at Mecca Temple and will continue there for the next two Sunday evenings. Mr. Blitzstein works in a medium of historic usage—the bare stage. There are no hangings, no portals, only the stage and a battery of lights, with a few simple properties for the actors. Scenes change, from the interior of a social club to a barroom, a filling station, a road by the club, all with the pulling of an electrician's switch. The players sometimes speak, sometimes sing their lines, sometimes echo them against the massed voices of a chorus. Yet *No for an Answer* lives with a realism which makes it one of the theatrical events of the season. It lives with the surge of the world outside the theater doors. It tells a story which is all too true, recreating in character, action, and music human beings you can understand.

Here is the story. The season is over at Crest Lake, a summer resort in the East. The workers, as usual, are unemployed for the winter. They band together in a social club, to bolster their morale and for cooperation in the search for jobs. The brother-in-law of a congressman and his wife befriend them. But the local hotel association, fearing that the club will become a union, try to break it up. When Joe, the son of Nick Kyriakos, chairman of the club, comes to town, organization speeds up, for Joe is an experienced labor leader. The employers hire thugs to smash the club windows. The workers are undisturbed by the threats. Police then frame Nick and some others on charges of selling liquor without a license. The club members retaliate with a demonstration.

Paul Chase, the young liberal, marches in this picket line. Unlike the workers he is swept by fear, tries to provoke—out of sheer nervousness—his own arrest. But the workers are disciplined. He runs away from them, goes to a bar and begins drinking. Without realizing what he is doing, he tells two henchmen of the employers about Joe's plans for the workers. The hotel owners hire gangsters to drive Joe out of town. He is shot and killed by them as the play ends with the defiant *No for an Answer.*

In *The Cradle Will Rock* Mr. Blitzstein posed types against one another—the lithograph of a worker against Mister Mister, the boss. Here, in *No for an Answer* he has worked with genuine three-dimensional human beings. Furthermore he has woven the infinite difficulties, the flashes of self-confidence, resourcefulness, and power which belong to the workers. And he has depicted, at some length, the waverings, the self-exploitation, the subjective psychological maunderings of the middle-class liberal.

Of course, the lines he has written do much to enhance the "opera," a word which I place in quotes, for this work is no opera in the conventional sense, but rather a drama produced to music. In the final analysis, it is the music which adds that richness of human emotion to *No for an Answer.* When you see this play—and you will, of course, see it—you will recall first what, in musical productions, are called "numbers." The first great scene, a meeting of the Diogenes Social Club, with its rare insight into the manner in which undeveloped masses join in democratic action, is really one long "number," carefully, almost like a mosaic, pieced together.

Then there is that three-sided humorous episode, in which a hamburger, capitalism, and a lost shoe are woven together into strands of music and robust laughter. A triumph of satire lies in the broad strophes of the duet by a torch singer and a hotcha dance man—two "numbers" in one—"You got a Dimple" and "I Am Fraught with You." Here is a high spot in delicious social ridicule. On another plane is the sentimentalized mockery of "Penny Candy," with its indomitable worker poking fun at a grande dame and at himself.

But the memorable things about *No for an Answer* are the grand proletarian upsurges of song which run like a bright thread through the play. Of these the final dramatic threnody —"No . . . No . . . No . . ." to fascism lingers longest, for it embodies the great lesson. "They may try to imprison us, kill us, but, brothers, let us plan . . . a mimeograph machine is our weapon . . . if we can't meet in the open, then we shall meet in some one's home . . . if the mimeograph machine is smashed, we shall collect money and buy another . . . we shall talk to the truckmen, the produce farmers, the other workers, they will join us. . . ."

MARC BLITZSTEIN, *author of "No for an Answer."*

Of lesser dramatic value but equally vibrant is the first act finale, when the solid *No for an Answer* is first introduced as the theme for the workers' struggle. And there is also the abundant gayety of the party with which the workers celebrate the release on bail of their club brothers—"He's the Purest Kind of a Guy."

The cast gives *No for an Answer* the performance it needs, a technically excellent collective effort which is aided by the groupings and direction of William E. Watts and the lighting. Outstanding are the performances of Martin Wolfson as the proud Greek-American, Nick; Robert Simon as Joe; Olive Deering as Clara Carver Chase; and Lloyd Gough as Paul Chase. Carol Channing and Coby Ruskin do wonders with their burlesques of torch singing and hotcha dancing.

On the demerit side, it must be recorded that Mecca Temple is hardly the auditorium for a production which depends so much for its effect upon a clear understanding of the lines. Lacking sound amplification, many of the Blitzstein subtleties, as well as some of the musical effects, were lost to most of the audience. There is room for criticism, too, of the discursive quality of the self-explorations by Paul Chase. The probings into his dank and unsteady character are undramatic; furthermore the really impressive moments of the play are gained by group effects, and the young liberal vacillates all by himself too long upon the big stage. This is a minor flaw but it slows up the second act. And unquestionably some cutting will help; certain minor scenes might well be omitted to bring the evening to an end earlier than ten minutes to midnight. It is especially to be hoped that *No for an Answer* will be housed in a smaller playhouse for an extended run.

To Mr. Blitzstein who is composer, lyricist, dramatist, conductor, and one-man orchestra all in one, the highest praise is due. He has grown with the years. His contribution to an understanding of the forces at work in today's America is fundamental. It is a lesson in music to all who can see and hear. *No for an Answer* is a forward step in the right direction by one of America's leading craftsmen of the theater.

JAMES MORISON.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Flight to the West"

Elmer Rice's new play avoids the reality of fascism.

In *Flight to the West* (at the Guild), Elmer Rice has written what he must feel is an anti-Nazi propaganda play. It is propaganda all right, but it is propaganda for war rather than anti-fascist argument. In the course of its seven scenes, Mr. Rice has joyfully stooped to the lowest grade appeals to national chauvinism, to tear jerking, to rank sentimentalism of the cheapest nature.

Like most Rice plays *Flight to the West* starts with a striking stage design and then proceeds to write a feeble drama around the set-pieces. This time it is a clipper airplane, flying from Lisbon to New York with a cargo of "refugees." Consider them: a young Jewish-American attorney and his bride (daughter of a foreign attache); a Belgian woman, her blind husband, and her one-armed child; a German-Jewish woman; a famous woman correspondent; a liberal "intellectual" writer; a Nazi diplomat; a Nazi spy; an American oil baron.

Once these people are all safely aboard the plane, they start to talk. For the seven scenes of the three acts they conduct an open forum about democracy and Nazism, and the moments of actual drama may be counted upon two fingers of one hand. The half-mad Belgian woman, consoled by the American bride who tells her that, whatever her sufferings, she still has her family, replies: "Yes, I have my family; except my ten-year-old son, who was killed by the bomb that blinded my husband, that crushed my daughter's arm." She is mentally unbalanced by her suffering, lives only for revenge. She would like to do to them what they have done to her. She would like to bomb their cities, kill their babies, blind their men, tear off the limbs of their children. The audience sympathizes with her, as well it might; but you will not hear any mention of the bombed cities in Germany, the dead children, the blinded men, the people mutilated by bombs dropped by the RAF. For Mr. Rice, the *mutual* suffering of the working people of both belligerents does not exist.

The Nazi spy is exposed through the combined efforts of the bride and the newspaper woman, and is taken in charge at Bermuda. The American oil baron is exposed as an appeaser, who would rather make a deal with Hitler than fight him. The half-mad Belgian woman conveniently gets hold of a pistol and fires at the Nazi official, shouting "Assassin!" She hits the young Jewish lawyer who had expressed his determination to become a pilot to help save the world from German barbarism. The bride, carrying his child, urges him to get well to fulfill his new destiny. The intellectual, who had earlier announced himself a "confused liberal" who did not believe in war (but apparently does now) emerges with a new determination to drop his confusion, and apparently his liberalism. So Mr. Rice provides the answer to what becomes of some confused liberals—they become obscurantists and war-mongers, like Mr. Rice.

Most of Mr. Rice's recent dramatic works have been static, vapid, and undramatic. This one is also repulsive in the quality of emotion it attempts to arouse. For it has now become traditional among those who are trying to channel out anti-fascist sympathies toward direct participation in this new imperialist war, to sedulously avoid any discussion of the reality of fascism. Mr. Rice is no exception here. Nazism, he says, is an evil force, a madness of "too much rationality," a disease of the mind, emanating from fanatical men. Fascism is *not,* for Mr. Rice, exactly what it *is;* and you must decide that either he is as ignorant politically as he appears to be, or he is a downright hypocrite. For again the brutal reality of fascism is obscured by a specious camouflage of half-baked and mystical terminology.

Among the large cast the work of Paul Hernried, the Nazi attache, should be cited. Amusingly, he is the most sympathetic character on the stage. Also, the performances of Eleonora Mendelssohn and Lydia St. Clair are handled with dignity, restraint, and intelligence. Arnold Moss, a developing artist, has little to do with the role of the confused liberal. Betty Field as the young wife is no more than adequate, but as her Jewish husband, Hugh Marlowe plays capably.

ALVAH BESSIE.

THE DRAPERS

Ruth Draper, the one-woman theater, and her almost equally famous dancing nephew, Paul Draper, are currently offering an unusual program at the Booth Theater. Each is doing what each can do best, and the combination of the two on one program produces a unique and peculiarly satisfying esthetic cocktail. Miss Draper has been before the public for more than twenty years and her art is a rich and heart-warming thing. She can create several characters simultaneously better than most actresses can create one. Appearing in three original sketches, "On a Porch in a Maine Coast Village," "At a Children's Party in Philadelphia," and "In a Church in Italy," she reveals her talent for satire and human portraiture. In the last Miss Draper speaks both Italian and German, as well as English, and manages to convey her meaning to an audience which for the most part understands neither. And she reveals the larger horizons of her art in this last sketch by interweaving the satirical, the tender, and the tragic.

Paul Draper is one of America's masters of the dance. One associates tap dancing either with modern jazz or with American folk tunes, but Draper converts the tap dance into a sort of indigenous fluid ballet form, done to the music of Bach, Handel, Scarlatti, Brahms, Debussy, and others. Tap dancing is a limited dance form in the same sense as the harpsichord is a limited musical instrument. But Paul Draper shows that it can be given a variety and color that greatly extend its emotional spectrum.

A. B. M.

Help Defend the Bill of Rights in Oklahoma!!!

Get tickets to Sunday, Jan. 12, performance of

Marc Blitzstein's "No for an Answer"

Alan Shaw

Oklahoma prisoner out on bail will speak

Tickets on sale at International Labor Defense, 112 E. 19th St., Workers Bookstore, 50 E. 13th St.—or ask for ILD seats at Mecca Auditorium, 55th between 6th & 7th. ($3.30, $2.75, $2.20, $1.65, $1.10, 85c)

LENIN
MEMORIAL MEETING

Speakers

EARL BROWDER

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

JAMES W. FORD

ISRAEL AMTER

CLAUDIA JONES

At

MADISON SQUARE GARDEN

Monday, January 13, 7:30 P.M.

PAGEANT—"WE ARE INVINCIBLE"

Admission: 33c, 44c, 55c, 66c, 83c, $1.10

Tickets now available at: Workers Bookshop, 50 East 13th St., Cooperative Restaurant, 2700 Bronx Park East, and N. Y. State Office Communist Party, 35 East 12th St.

Please mention NEW MASSES *when patronizing advertisers*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In response to innumerable requests

NEW MASSES

is happy to announce another evening of

"INTERPRETATION, PLEASE!"

this time on

LITERATURE AND SOCIAL ISSUES

Panel of Experts

WILLIAM BLAKE

Author of "The World Is Mine," "The Painter and the Lady," "An American Looks at Karl Marx," etc.

ALVAH BESSIE

Drama Critic, New Masses, author of "Men in Battle," "Dwell in the Wilderness," etc.

ALBERT MALTZ

Author of "Underground Stream," "The Way Things Are," "Stevedore," etc.

JOSHUA KUNITZ

Authority on Soviet Literature, author of "Dawn over Samarkand," co-author of "Voices of October," etc.

ISIDOR SCHNEIDER

Poet, critic, author of "Comrade Mister," "From the Kingdom of Necessity," etc.

SENDER GARLIN

Well known literary editor, writer, lecturer.

—Interlocutor.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 23rd—8:30 P. M.

WEBSTER HALL—119 E. 11 ST.

All tickets are 50c—Reserved section for those buying in advance at NEW MASSES, Workers Bookshop, 50 E. 13 St., Bookfair, 133 W. 44 St., New York City

Movie History

Hollywood's conception of Ossawatomie John Brown.

"SANTA FE TRAIL" is one of the most amazing pictures I ever saw. No doubt Warner Brothers were afraid that few people would pay their way into a movie which frankly regarded slavery as a commendable institution and attacked the memory of Ossawatomie John Brown. They made the picture anyhow, called it *Santa Fe Trail* to make it sound like a Western, put in one scene lasting approximately thirty seconds of the building of the Santa Fe Railroad, used Alan Hale and Big Boy Williams as comic drunks, and transported the critics all the way to Santa Fe on one of those exploitation junkets which are designed to put reviewers in a pleasant state of intoxication when they write their reviews. Some of the critics wondered boozily what the hell Raymond Massey was doing in a Western, and one asked pointblank what became of that railroad, but *Santa Fe Trail* got good reviews and in its first two weeks at the high-priced houses did a good business.

In the first scene members of the class of 1854 at West Point are unsaddling their horses. One cadet, a mean-looking party from the North, twists the bit savagely in his horse's mouth, causing several handsome Southerners including Errol Flynn to remonstrate with him for not appreciating good horseflesh. The mean Northerner is an Abolitionist, which at West Point is synonymous with rat. That night he reads aloud a letter from John Brown, and Errol Flynn, having stood this seditious talk as long as he can, jumps him. The Abolitionist is expelled from West Point for making trouble and is consequently unable to hear Jefferson Davis' stirring appeal to preserve the Union at the graduating exercises.

The scene changes to Fort Leavenworth in Bloody Kansas, where that fanatical madman John Brown, in his supposed desire to disrupt the union, is sacking and pillaging and shooting down innocent women and children in cold blood. Presumably they are slaveholders, but in one perfectly incomprehensible scene he burns down the settlement of some Free Staters and kills *their* women and children. He reminds you of Ernest Hemingway's stupid treatment of Andre Marty in *For Whom the Bell Tolls.* Errol Flynn and the dashing West Point cavalrymen drive this agitator out of Kansas, the railroad is begun, and a spirited contest ensues in the officers' mess for the hand of Olivia de Haviland. The scene changes abruptly again to New England, where John Brown persuades the Abolitionists that their only hope of destroying the Union is to bring about chaos by attacking Harper's Ferry. When he attacks Harper's Ferry he is caught by Errol Flynn because of the treachery of the mean Abolitionist who was cruel to his horse.

History, these days as the war widens toward America, is taking a terrible beating. When John Brown dies on the scaffold General Lee says, "So perish all enemies of the Union."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What he actually added was, "And so perish all enemies of Virginia." John Brown was a man of God but also a man of action; in Spain the boys in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade named a machine-gun battalion after him. He was no politician, and when gangs of Southern partisans invaded Kansas to vote it into the Union as a slave state, John Brown and his sons took their rifles and killed some of them. But he had no liking for slaughter. He and the men who fought with him were radicals who could not rest so long as men were slaves in their country. It is probably not necessary to add that Jefferson Davis was, in fact, not the country's foremost advocate of a united nation.

John Brown had a complex, fascinating personality, a product of a time when religious and social impulses were mixed and men formed socialist communities after their idea of the kingdom of God. Some day a great picture will be made about John Brown. In *Santa Fe Trail* Raymond Massey plays him like a mural painting, which is especially disconcerting in his scenes with Errol Flynn. Massey, as usual, seems to feel that he is still playing Abraham Lincoln, and he recites his lines as though he had just memorized them that morning. The director, Michael Curtiz, arranges him against the landscape after the well known Curry paintings. The minor characters are carefully chosen. The good men are all stalwart and handsome and the bad men, on John Brown's side, are quickly recognizable as ruffians. There is one scene containing Negroes. John Brown goes into the barn where he keeps the Negroes he has taken, and frees them. All the simple Negroes raise their arms in thanksgiving except one family, which hides in the hay. A few hours later Errol Flynn is cornered in the barn and the slaves peer out and say, "Looks like a friend." They bind his wound and ask him to help them get back to the plantation, where they used to be happy. It seems that they *liked* being slaves. Errol Flynn declares, later on in the picture, that the South would have freed the slaves years before if the North hadn't poked its long nose into the South's business.

Santa Fe Trail can be compared with a popular book of the moment, *Oliver Wiswell*. They both represent a crisis in American history from the Tory point of view, and they are good examples of what American culture would be under fascism. It seems that reaction can't allow John Brown to moulder peacefully in his grave, as it can't resist refurbishing the reputation of Benedict Arnold. When President Roosevelt says that we face today an emergency as grave as at Jamestown and Valley Forge, he must get us to accept his interpretation of what emergency we faced on those occasions.

In one respect *Santa Fe Trail* and *Oliver Wiswell* are different. The movies get their sustenance from many people who couldn't afford three dollars for a book. The movie-going audience has the power, by staying away from *Santa Fe Trail*, to kick Warner Brothers where it hurts. DANIEL TODD.

"Dramatically staged . . . very exciting in performance. Mr. Blitzstein's music, joyous and dramatic by turns, gives the characters flesh, blood, humor, love, loyalty, indignation, courage and all the qualities of lively, likable human beings."
—*Brooks Atkinson, New York Times.*

NO FOR AN ANSWER

An Opera in 2 Acts by

MARC BLITZSTEIN

Mecca Auditorium
130 W. 56th St. CO 5-9089

Tickets: only 500 at $1.10
only 500 at $1.65

"Smash Hit . . . Brings down the house."—*LIFE magazine*

"Had the first-nighters cheering."
—*Journal*

Meet the People Musical Revue

"One socko number following another."
—*Mirror*

MANSFIELD THEATRE W. 47th St. CI. 5-5357. Mats. WED. & SAT. 55c to $2.20 Evenings including SUNDAY at 8:30—55c to $3.30

CAMP FOLLOWERS OF THE TRAIL
announce their

ANNUAL REUNION DANCE

SATURDAY
JANUARY 11, 1941

PALM GARDENS — 52nd Street & 8th Avenue, N. Y. C.
Admission: 65c.

FOURTH BIG WEEK!
"It is a picture no well-informed person can afford to miss."
—N. Y. Post
Artkino presents
"MANNERHEIM LINE"
(Spoken in English)
MIAMI PLAYHOUSE
6th Avenue near 47th Street
20c to 1 P.M. weekdays — Cont. from 10 A.M.

"the food is swell, the price is low"
LIBERTY CAFETERIA & RESTAURANT
Table Service & Self-Service
Supper served from 5 to 8
Catering our specialty
Prompt service on outgoing orders
262 Fifth Ave. (at 29th Street) N. Y. C. LE 2-6931

"The first completely gay comedy of this season"
—*Atkinson, Times*
"Uproarious comedy . . . shook the Biltmore like an earthquake of laughter"—*Brown, Post*

MAX GORDON presents

MY SISTER EILEEN

A New Comedy by
JOSEPH FIELDS and JEROME CHODOROV
Based on the stories by RUTH McKENNEY
Staged by GEORGE S. KAUFMAN

BILTMORE THEATRE, 47th St. W. of B'way CI. 6-9353
EVENINGS, 8:40 — MATINEES WED. and SAT. 2:40

The Music Room
presents on
DECCA RECORDS
"if you can't hear it on the radio, get it on records."

RUSSIAN GYPSY MUSIC $2.25
5 records in album
ROUMANIAN GYPSY MUSIC 2.25
5 records in album
FASHIONS IN SWING 2.50
4 records in album
SOUTH AMERICAN WAY 2.75
Carmen Miranda
BOOGIE-WOOGIE ALBUM 2.60
6 records in album

ERIC BERNAY'S *Music Room*
UNION SHOP
133 W. 44th St., N. Y. LO. 3-4420
Orders mailed promptly. Open Eves.

For Placing Earl Browder, James W. Ford and Ben Rubin, a veteran of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, on the ballot in Reading, Pa., the authorities have meted out—

32 INDICTMENTS
4 CONVICTIONS
24 YEARS IN PRISON TERMS—SO FAR
12 MORE TRIALS

Get the Inside Story at a

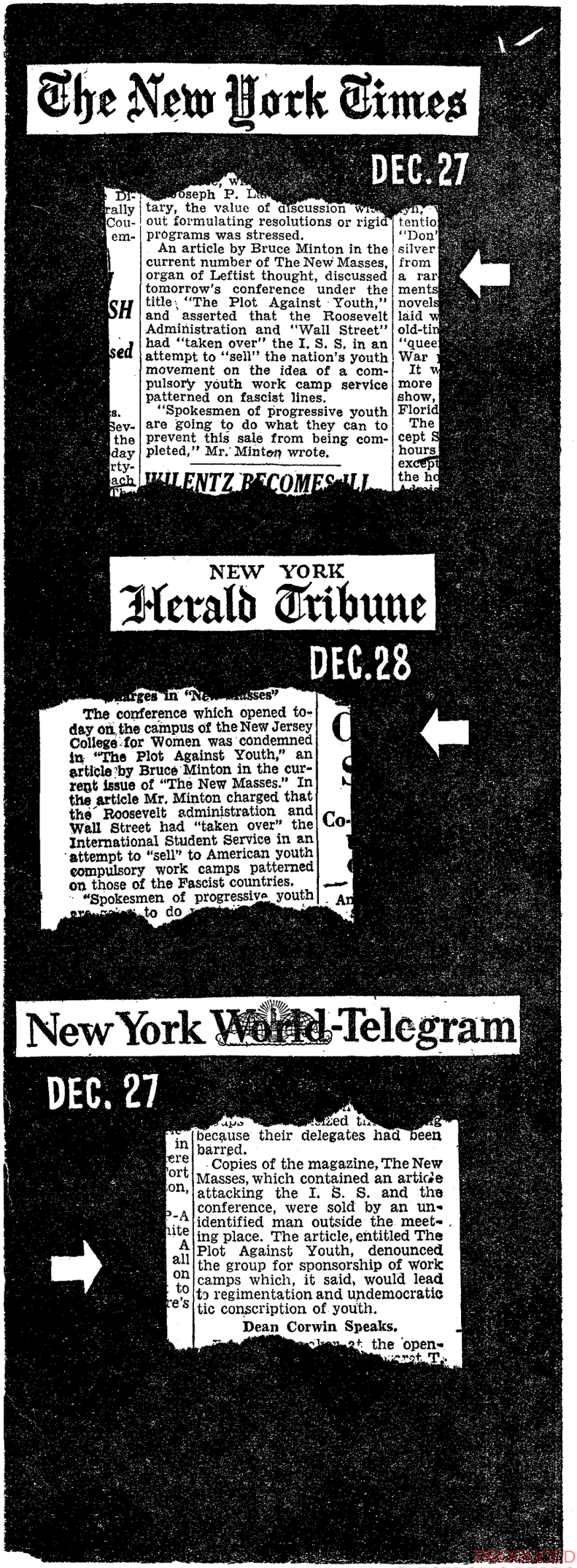
Benefit Dance and Entertainment

GUESTS OF HONOR:
REV. MAX C. PUTNEY
Exec. Sec'y Berks County Civil Liberties Comm.
BEN RUBIN and DAVID LEVINSON
who was attorney for Sacco and Vanzetti, Dimitroff at the Reichstag Fire Trial, Luiz Carlos Prestes, and is now attorney for Ben Rubin.
Frankie Newton and Orchestra...Leadbelly

Auspices: Berks County Civil Liberties Committee, N. Y. Branch
Endorsed by Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade

HOTEL DIPLOMAT
FRIDAY, JANUARY 24th, 8:30 P.M.
ADMISSION 55 CENTS

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



The New York Times

DEC. 27

...Joseph P. La... tary, the value of discussion wi... out formulating resolutions or rigid programs was stressed.

An article by Bruce Minton in the current number of The New Masses, organ of Leftist thought, discussed tomorrow's conference under the title "The Plot Against Youth," and asserted that the Roosevelt Administration and "Wall Street" had "taken over" the I. S. S. in an attempt to "sell" the nation's youth movement on the idea of a compulsory youth work camp service patterned on fascist lines.

"Spokesmen of progressive youth are going to do what they can to prevent this sale from being completed," Mr. Minton wrote.

...ILENTZ BECOMES ILL

NEW YORK Herald Tribune

DEC. 28

...harges in "New ...asses"

The conference which opened today on the campus of the New Jersey College for Women was condemned in "The Plot Against Youth," an article by Bruce Minton in the current issue of "The New Masses." In the article Mr. Minton charged that the Roosevelt administration and Wall Street had "taken over" the International Student Service in an attempt to "sell" to American youth compulsory work camps patterned on those of the Fascist countries.

"Spokesmen of progressive youth ... to do ...

New York World-Telegram

DEC. 27

...because their delegates had been barred.

Copies of the magazine, The New Masses, which contained an article attacking the I. S. S. and the conference, were sold by an unidentified man outside the meeting place. The article, entitled The Plot Against Youth, denounced the group for sponsorship of work camps which, it said, would lead to regimentation and undemocratic conscription of youth.

Dean Corwin Speaks.

...at the open...

NO STRAITJACKET FOR THE YOUTH !

The young go first, the old saying has it, but it's a new youth nowadays. They want to know why they should go first and, indeed, why they should go at all.

The Christmas week conventions of the American Student Union, the International Student Service, and the National Student Federation had the eye of the nation. The interventionist was watching, the appeaser was watching, and the great bulk of the nation that wants peace was watching.

A trap had been laid, carefully, by the "First Family" of the land. The young folk were to walk into it, naively, blithely, and prepare themselves for slaughter. That's what Mrs. FDR thought, and so did her Park Avenue friends, Miss Ingrid Warburg and Mrs. Eliot Pratt. The moneyed press collaborated in the plot. But your faithful *New Masses* helped spike the conspiracy. Bruce Minton's expose of the forced labor plans could not be dismissed. (Note the column of clippings to the left.) We are proud to have been of some service to America's youth. We want to do more. We'll do our part if you help us. We want you to help us make *New Masses* required reading on the campus. And the best way is to get your friends, particularly your student friends, to read the magazine, to put *New Masses* before America in the way it deserves.

Help us place *New Masses* on the weekly agenda of the nation. Your signature on the blank below is the first step.

NEW MASSES, 461 FOURTH AVE., N. Y. C.

Please enter my subscription to New Masses for the period indicated by the checkmark: ☐ six months, $2.75; ☐ one year, $5.00; ☐ two years, $8.00; ☐ three years, $11.

Name . . . . . .

Address . . . . . .

City and State . . . . . .

Amount Enclosed $ . . . . . .

1-14-41

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED